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ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Geneva Arms Talk Envoys Discuss Progress 1
FRG Troop Reduction Proposal Criticized *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Mar]* 1
State Department Booklet on INF Treaty Viewed 2
Comparison of Space Inspectorate Memorandum 3

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

CEMA Forms Environmental Protection Group 4
    Water, Air Issues Targeted 4
    Accident Prevention Strategies 4
Bulgaria Successfully Developing Balkans Trade *[Matyash]* 4

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gerasimov Comments on POW Deaths in Poland *[IZVESTIYA 2 Apr]* 6
Tolkunov Chairs Parliamentary Group Session 6
AAPSO Concerned by 'Team Spirit' Exercise 6
'Top Priority' Program on INF Ratification *[Pozner, Bogdanov, Plekhanov]* 6
'International Situation—Questions and Answers' *[Pravdin, Losev, Andrianov]* 10

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

INF Treaty Faces Opposition in U.S. Senate *[PRAVDA 1 Apr]* 12
Gorbachev Message Given to U.S. Schoolchildren 12
U.S. War Crimes Official Holds Talks in Moscow 13
U.S. Official Visits Athens To Discuss Cyprus 13
U.S. Senate Delegation Visits Leningrad 13
    Senator Johnston Interviewed 13
    Received by Deputy Mayor 14
Economic Delegation Ends Visit to Canada 14

China

Current Situation Around Tibet Described 14
Zhao Ziyang Comments on PRC-Indian Relations 15
Wu Xueqian Views Trade, Economic Reform 15
Vinogradov Compares USSR, PRC Reforms 16

Northeast Asia

South Korean Demonstrators, Police Clash 16
    Seven Arrested in Chinju 16
DPRK General Condemns 'Team Spirit-88' 17
Soviet-Japanese Joint Lumbering Venture 17
    Manager Interviewed 17

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Official Supports SRV 'Goodwill' on Spratlys *[Hanoi]* 17
Lawyers Delegation Meets Thai Prime Minister 17

Philippines, U.S. Open Talks on Bases 18
Vice Admiral Komarov Clarifies Pacific Stand 18
    'No Warships in South Pacific' *[Wellington THE EVENING POST 22 Mar]* 18
    Cam Ranh Bay Not a Base *[Wellington THE EVENING POST 22 Mar]* 19
    Komarov Remarks 'Debunked' *[Wellington THE EVENING POST 30 Mar]* 19

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Talks 'Friendly, Businesslike' *[PRAVDA 5 Apr]* 20
Afghan Parliamentary Elections Begin 20
Former Afghan Rebels Discuss Reconciliation 20
Afghanistan, CEMA Sign Economic Protocol 21
Contracts Concluded With Afghan Cooperatives 21
Hijacking of Kuwaiti Airliner Reported 22
U.S. Mideast Plan Proposes 'Partial Measures' 22
Supreme Soviet Delegation Continues UAE Visit 22
    Meets With President 22
    Criticizes Shultz Plan 23
Kamentsev Receives Egyptian Official 23
Syrian Prime Minister Receives Tabeyev 23
PLO Official Hails Soviet Afghan Stance 24
Academician Praises 'Courage' of Israel's Vanunu 24
Soviet Commander on Gulf Affairs Interviewed *[Kuwait AL-ANBA' 29 Mar]* 24
Iranian CP Member Deplores War Prolongation 25
Dobrynin Receives Indian Foreign Minister 26

East Europe

Shevardnadze Meets With Sofia Embassy Staff *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 26
SFRY Body Assesses Results of Gorbachev Visit 26
MSZMP Conference Drafts Document on Activity *[SELAKAYA ZHIZN 1 Apr]* 26
Bratislava Dean Interviewed on Slovak Rally *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 2 Apr]* 27
Lushev, Nechayev at East Berlin Sports Forum *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Apr]* 28

West Europe

Zaykov-Led Delegation Departs for Finland 28
    Seen Off by Slyunkov, Others 28
    Welcomed at Helsinki 28
FRG's Brandt, Delegation Arrive in Moscow 28
    Greeted by Dobrynin, Zagladin 28
    Makes No Airport Statement *[DPA]* 29
    'Warmly' Received by Gorbachev 29
    To Meet Gromyko, Sakharov *[DPA]* 29
New Magazine Carries Interview With FRG's Bahr 29
'Spy Mania' in FRG 'Much Ado About Nothing' 30
Visiting Spanish Green Party Group Activities 30
Pact Signed With UK on Nuclear Industry Safety 31
Briefs 31
    Petrovskiy Meets Swedish Group 31
    Air France to Leningrad 31

Latin America & Caribbean

Baryshev Comments on Situation in Panama 31
Temporary Cease-Fire in Effect in Nicaragua 32
    Foreign Ministry Statement 32
    Contras Postpone Talks 32
U.S. Peace Observers To Remain in Nicaragua 33
Chigir Views UK Falklands Military Exercises 33
Cuba's Castro Receives Mozambique's Chissano 33

Cuban Embassy Official on Trade Development 34
Work Starts on Cuban Nuclear Research Center 34
Chilean Communist Party Reiterates Policy 34
Chilean Socialist Party Comments on Panama 35
Haitian Communist Leader Interviewed 35

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Restructuring's First Three Years Lauded *[PRAVDA 5 Apr]* 37
Nagorno-Karabakh Situation Reported Calm 43
    Sumgait 'Normalization' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 3 Apr]* 43
    Armenians Describe Strikes *[AFP]* 44
Azerbaijani Poet Deplores Events in Sumgait *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 26 Mar]* 45
Solovyev Attends Leningrad Aktiv Conference 46
Biryukova Tours Tbilisi Enterprises *[Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA 16 Mar]* 47
Vlasov Writes on Perestroyka, Crime Rate 48
Yagodin Discusses Changes in Schooling System 49
Customs Officials Outline Relaxed Regulations *[IZVESTIYA 25 Mar]* 49
'Persecution' of Orthodox Church Examined *[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 20 Mar]* 52
Ukrainian Procurator Urges Fight Against Theft *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 17 Mar]* 53
Academician Explains Public Opinion Center Role 54
Treatment for Disabled Afghan Veterans Noted 54
New Book-Publishing Policy Explained *[PRAVDA 22 Mar]* 54
IZVESTIYA Readers on Party Conference *[22 Mar]* 55
Award System, Abuses Under Brezhnev Criticized *[PRAVDA 31 Mar]* 57
National Consciousness, Dialectic Viewed *[PRAVDA 25 Mar]* 59

Economic

AUCCTU Seminar Views Restructuring Problems *[TRUD 22 Mar]* 62
Foreign Economic Brokerage Firm Proposed *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 27 Mar]* . 62
Banking Official on Setting Up Cooperative Bank 63
Labor Imbalances Afflict Kabardino-Balkaria *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 20 Mar]* 63

Agricultural

Further Report on Collective Farmers Congress 65
    Nikonov Addresses Meeting *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 26 Mar]* 65
    Tsentrosoyuz' Fedirko Speaks *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 26 Mar]* 67
    Starodubtsev Assesses Meeting *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Mar]* 68
Comparison of Gorbachev Speech to Congress 70
Nikonov, Murakhovskiy Visit Farming Exhibition 72

Scientific

Sagdeyev on Possible Mars Project Cooperation 72
All-Union Scientific Conference Begins 31 Mar 72
Instrument To Detect AIDS Developed 73
Safety of Lithuanian Nuclear Power Station Noted 73
Cost-Accounting Instituted in Science Sector 74

Geneva Arms Talk Envoys Discuss Progress

LD041638 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; speakers identified by screen caption]

[Text] Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms are underway in Geneva.

[Correspondent A. Yerutin] Another discussion of topical issues has been held by experts from the delegations of both countries at the U.S. mission. Ambassador Read Hanmer, U.S. representative from the strategic offensive arms group, has arrived at the Soviet mission.

[Hanmer in English with superimposed Russian translation] We want to attain agreement concerning a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms and we are moving toward concluding a relevant treaty. Much work lies ahead, but ours is a common goal—to cope with this work and attain tangible results, and the main thing is results by the new meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan. Many hard questions remain, but we examine them in a businesslike atmosphere and I hope we will achieve the goal that has been set, given a serious attitude from both sides.

[Correspondent V. Dmitriyev] Two months remain before the next Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, this time to be held in Moscow. How are the talks going? What are the difficulties?

[A.A. Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation] Certain progress has been made during the course of the work done by the delegations. Very substantial difficulties do, however, remain. Thus, the delegations are to solve the question of limits on sea-launched long-range cruise missiles. The Soviet side has put forward specific proposals on this score, pertaining both to ways of imposing limits and verification [kontrol]. Unfortunately, we have so far had no constructive proposals in this field from the U.S. side.

The question of air-launched long-range cruise missiles is, likewise, waiting to be resolved. In this area, too, the Soviet side is for an effective and equitable solution. There are also a number of other problems on which agreement has yet to be reached.

FRG Troop Reduction Proposal Criticized

PM011229 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel V. Nazarenko and Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov: "New Concept, Old Background"]

[Text] The green light which the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles gave to the train of disarmament has enabled that international vehicle to get under way. There is a long and complex route ahead to the end of the line—a nuclear-free and secure world for all—but the movement toward it has begun and is gathering momentum. The entire planet has greeted this news with joy. However, it was clearly not to some people's liking. Western signalmen are scurrying about the track. Brandishing false signals, they are trying to slow down the locomotive and shunt it into a complete impasse.

They have recently been making particularly active use of the problem of imbalances and asymmetries in East-West conventional armaments. Does this problem exist? Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces are extremely varied and heterogeneous, with different structures and organizations. Owing to the historical features of the building of the sides' armed forces, NATO countries have superiority in some spheres and Warsaw Pact states in others. But these individual imbalances do not upset the overall military balance. Nevertheless, the level of confrontation in Europe is dangerously high and continues to rise. Thus the resolution of the problem of conventional arms reduction, above all in Europe, is urgent. The Soviet viewpoint on this score is unequivocal: We are prepared for the most radical reductions in the interests of lowering the level of military confrontation. The USSR is prepared to examine ways to remove the imbalances at the level of military alliances, but in such a way as not to violate the overall correlation of forces where there is now approximate equilibrium. "We must put our cards on the table, exchange all data, assess them, uncover asymmetries in armaments and troops, and embark on solving the problems": This is how M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, characterized the Soviet concept for resolving this problem.

The Soviet Union is ready to tackle this work urgently and is insisting on it. In the course of the recent meeting between USSR and U.S. defense ministers in Bern, Army General D.T. Yazov stated our readiness to exchange data on the numerical strength of the sides' troops in Europe. This was also discussed during USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's recent talks in Washington. The Soviet side proposed to the secretary of state and other representatives of the U.S. Administration that from mid-April, experts could begin to coordinate a list of data for publication, and in mid-May openly exchange information on conventional forces and armaments in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. This information would largely comprise data on NATO and Warsaw Pact countries as a whole, on each of these countries, and also on regions—northern Europe, central Europe, and the European south. "Our U.S. partners' reaction surprised us," E.A. Shevardnadze pointed out at the press conference at the end of the talks. "They were not, to put it delicately, very enthusiastic about discussing this question with us. Perhaps the Americans are not worried about the correlation of forces in Europe? But then I cannot understand why the theme of Soviet superiority has been exploited with such keenness? Why were so many lances broken over the so-called asymmetries and the so-called imbalance?"

Strictly speaking, to this day some people are still not averse to breaking lances over the notorious "colossal Soviet superiority in conventional armaments", while rejecting any real comparison of military potentials. This is illustrated by the new concept regarding conventional arms reductions in Europe, which the FRG Government has presented to its NATO allies. Its essence boils down to the fact that both Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces must be reduced to 95 percent of the NATO troop's present numerical strength. At first glance this is a completely reasonable proposal—who could object to equal reductions resulting in a reduced level of confrontation while retaining parity? But there's also a snag—neither equality nor the retention of parity given reciprocal reductions enter into the plans of the author of this concept. Judge for yourselves the feasibility of the path proposed by Bonn. In order to achieve the aforementioned levels, the Warsaw Pact countries are, according to the "new concept," to cut 80 military formations, comparable to a division, whereas NATO countries are to cut... 2 such units. Let us recall that the number of the NATO bloc's combat ready formations (divisions and brigades) is almost 50 percent greater than that of the Warsaw Pact. Even so, the number of U.S. and FRG divisions considerably exceeds the number of Warsaw Pact army divisions. This is approximately how the authors of the new concept also approach reductions in the sides' combat equipment: They instruct the Warsaw Pact to cut tens of thousands of tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, and self-propelled artillery installations, whereas NATO is only to respond by cutting a few hundred comparable units of combat equipment. They do not make any mention at all of strike aviation, where NATO has clear superiority. This is extremely typical "forgetfulness."

Thus the "new concept" has the same old background. In effect it is merely the latest attempt to secure the East's unilateral disarmament and smash the existing structure of the Soviet armed forces while retaining virtually the entire structure and equipment of the NATO armed forces. The unrealistic nature of such an approach is obvious. H. Scheer, Social Democratic Party [SPD] Bundestag disarmament expert, for instance, assessed negatively the fact that "official Bonn has proposed in the concept that it has submitted an arms reduction which it knows to be unacceptable to the East." The FRG Government opinion that Warsaw Pact states have overwhelming superiority over the West in conventional armaments is absolutely incorrect, the SPD expert stated. That is why he rightly believes that the proposal for the Warsaw Pact to sharply reduce the quantity of its conventional armaments and the numerical strength of its armed forces in central Europe and for NATO to only make insignificant reductions in its troops is also unfeasible.

The SPD expert also deems illegal the demand to exclude from the next NATO concept the holding of any talks with the East as regards reducing the numerical strength of Western air forces. This is an inalienable demand for broadening the disarmament process. H. Scheer notes that, consequently, the concept put forward by the FRG Government is "a unilateral isolated doctrine which, instead of dynamically developing the disarmament process, proposes dragging out over many decades the resolution of the problems of conventional and nuclear arms reduction." It is difficult not to agree with such an opinion.

I would like to point out one more detail. Bonn's "new concept" effectively ignores the whole complex of measures proposed by the USSR and its allies aiming to substantially reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe and build confidence on the continent, including measures which would preclude the unexpected unleashing of war in Europe. It is a question of reducing the concentration of armed forces and armaments to a minimum agreed level in the zone of contact of the two military alliances; withdrawing the most dangerous offensive armaments from this zone; and creating a nuclear-free corridor along the line where the Warsaw Pact and NATO meet, from which all nuclear weapons would be withdrawn on a reciprocal basis. I think that it is the "reciprocal basis" which does not suit some people in the West. Concepts like the Bonn concept are consequently appearing.

All the indications are that this concept has yet another goal: to demothball the myth of the "Soviet military threat" and undermine the peoples' growing trust in the countries of socialism, which are consistently struggling to preserve and consolidate peace on earth. This was the aim of the propaganda hullabaloo in the FRG's mass media which accompanied the publication of the concept. L. Ruehl, Defense Ministry state secretary, made, for instance, some quite fantastic calculations in DIE WELT regarding the socialist countries' armed forces. Other local publications also have no aversion to "totally random" figures.

Arguments about overwhelming Soviet superiority over NATO do not stand up to criticism. Guided by its defensive doctrine, the USSR is constructing its armed forces on the basis of defense sufficiency. For conventional armaments sufficiency provides for a minimum necessary quantity and high quality of armed forces and armaments capable of reliably ensuring the country's defense. The USSR does not want military superiority and it does not aspire to greater security, but it will not have lower security and will not permit military superiority over itself. It is high time that this was understood by those who are trying with a stubbornness worthy of better application to cloak old imperial dreams in new garments.

State Department Booklet on INF Treaty Viewed

LD050743 Moscow TASS in English 0725 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 5 TASS—In connection with the coming concluding stage of the examination by the Senate of U.S. Congress of the problem of ratification of the Soviet-American INF treaty the U.S. Department of State has published a booklet explaining the main provisions of the treaty. The treaty signed during the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington last December is described there as a historic achievement, because for the first time ever the USSR and the United States not only reached agreement on a real reduction of their nuclear arsenals, but also agreed to eliminate a whole class of nuclear armaments.

The booklet said that the treaty paved the way to new agreements in the sphere of arms control and pointed out certain progress achieved at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva on a 50 per cent reduction by both countries of strategic nuclear weapons, although there remained major obstacles on this way. And still, the authors of the booklet believe that an agreement in this sphere can be reached in the current year.

At the same time, the booklet pointed out the allegiance of the United States to the "Strategic Defense Initiative" whose implementation would spread the arms race to space and would undermine a possibility of achieving any significant reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, because they would be needed for neutralizing the SDI system.

At the same time, the authors of the booklet oppose a complete and all-round termination of nuclear tests. The booklet only points out the U.S. intention to promote the reaching of agreement on their limitation.

The booklet confirmed NATO's strategy of "flexible response" based on the first use of nuclear weapons by that military bloc in case of an attack on its member countries.

Comparison of Space Inspectorate Memorandum

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 1 April carries in its Morning Edition on pages 4 and 5 a report under the headline "On the Creation of an International System To Verify Non-Deployment of any Kind of Weapons in Outer Space". The IZVESTIYA report has been compared with the Moscow TASS version published under the headline "'Text' of Space Inspectorate Memorandum" in the 31 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pages 1-4, revealing the following variations:

Page 1, column two, paragraph three (letter "C" under Arabic numeral three), sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...of the objects to be launched atop a booster... (inserting "to be launched")

Column two, paragraph four (letter "D" under Arabic numeral three), sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...out of inspections also at agreed-upon depots... (inserting "also")

Column two, paragraph five (letter "E" under Arabic numeral three), sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...launch sites through snap [chrezvychaynyy] on-site inspections. (new paragraph) 4. Any craft... (picking up next paragraph, supplying Russian for "snap" as rendered here and throughout remainder of item)

Page 2, column one, paragraph two (Arabic numeral six under Roman numeral two) sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...shall be financed through annual proportional payments... (subbing "through" for "resultant of")

Column one, paragraph four (Arabic numeral one under Roman numeral three) sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...nominated by the member states on the basis... (subbing "member states" for "parties")

Column one, paragraph five (Arabic numeral two under Roman numeral three) sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...nominated by the member states subject to advance coordination with the... (supplying indistinct words)

Column one, paragraph nine (Arabic numeral six) sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...groups shall be stationed at cosmodromes. (new paragraph) 7. The permanent... (picking up next paragraph, subbing "stationed" for "accompanied")

Column two, paragraph thirteen, sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...of the launch site; (new paragraph) To allow inspectors... (subbing "site" for "side")

Page 3, column one, paragraph two, IZVESTIYA reads ...Verification of Unannounced Launchings [subhead] (new paragraph) 1. A state party to... (subbing "a" for "the")

Column one, paragraph three (Arabic numeral one under Roman numeral five) second sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...during negotiations). (new paragraph) 2. A state party to... (subbing "a" for "the")

Column two, paragraph six (letter "A" under Arabic numeral two) sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...for clarification to the appropriate state party... (subbing "the" for "an")

Same sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...receipt; (new paragraph) B/ The state being requested gives explanation to... (subbing "state being requested" for "requesting state")

Column two, paragraph one (Arabic numeral two), sole sentence, IZVESTIYA reads ...inspector group in the given country. (new paragraph) The state party... (subbing "the" for "a").

CEMA Forms Environmental Protection Group

Water, Air Issues Targeted

LD302013 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1345 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Mar (TASS)—Results of cooperation among CEMA member countries in the cause of environmental protection and plans for interaction during the next few years are being discussed at the first (founding session) of CEMA's Permanent Commission for Cooperation in Environmental Protection. The participants in the session stressed that as a result of joint activities of specialists from socialist countries, solutions of fundamental importance were adopted to improve the ecological situation and to step up the work to protect nature.

Cooperation in this sphere began in 1964. The third 5-year program of cooperation, encompassing theoretical research, ensuring radiation safety, rendering safe and making use of waste, and many other matters, is currently being implemented. Some 700 science and research and design and construction organizations of the CEMA member countries are taking part in the implementation of the program.

Water conservancy issues will from now on also fall within the ambit of the activities of CEMA's Permanent Commission on Cooperation in Environmental Protection. Until now they were tackled within the framework of conferences of heads of water conservancy bodies of the CEMA member countries. This new provision, stressed the session, will facilitate a development of cooperation and make for ecological requirements being taken more into account when tackling water conservancy problems.

The permanent commission's work plan provides for elaborating a strategy of joint activities up to the year 2010, preparing drafts of the convention on cooperation in order to maintain the purity of water resources, and a convention on cross border air pollution over large distances, and many other important issues.

Accident Prevention Strategies

LD010607 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—A new body, the Standing Commission on Cooperation in Environmental Protection, was formed in the process of the restructuring of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The constituent meeting of the commission ended in Moscow today.

The new commission is in charge of all the ecological matters that have earlier been in the competence of various CMEA bodies. The new organ will be analysing the world experience in environmental protection, assessing from the ecological viewpoint the technology and equipment created in the CMEA framework. The first meeting has decided to form a temporary international collective of scientists to work out the strategy of cooperation of CMEA countries in the area of environmental protection till the year 2010.

The commission's program envisages coordination of comprehensive studies of the effect of various ecological factors on the population's health and the working out of hygienic measures aimed at prevention of disease and improvement of environmental conditions. No less important a section of its activity is the working out of joint measures for the prevention and elimination of ecological consequences of major industrial and transport accidents and natural disasters.

The development of waste-free and harmless technologies is part of rational and comprehensive use of natural resources. It is planned to form in the framework of the CMEA a bank of data on technologies for the use of wastes. The commission also plans to hold an international conference on waste-free and little-waste technologies. Experts will draft a convention on cooperation to preserve the purity of water sources.

"The commission will exert efforts to ensure that the CMEA countries should profit from each other's experience in environmental protection, should closely interact and assist each other in the solution of complex ecological problems", said chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection Fedor Morgun who was elected chairman for the standing commission for a year. He addressed today a press-conference at the CMEA secretariat.

Bulgaria Successfully Developing Balkans Trade

LD041357 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—By TASS commentator Vladimir Matyash:

The Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of six Balkan countries has set guidelines for further developing bilateral and multilateral relations, first of all trade and economic contacts.

The more promising fields of cooperation in the Balkans include such areas as commerce, the power industry, water management, transport and tourism.

In keeping with a reached understanding the economics and foreign trade ministers of the Balkan countries are to work out by the end of this year specific ways of broadening cooperation among their nations in trade, the economy, co-production arrangements, technology exchanges and environmental protection.

According to a press release of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, Bulgaria has been successfully developing trade and economic relations with Balkan countries.

The first long-term trade agreement between Bulgaria and Albania was signed for the years 1956 through 1960. Compared with it, the current agreement for 1986-90 provides for an amount of trade nearly 8.5 times bigger. Trade between Bulgaria and Albania in 1987 totaled 29.1 million currency leva.

Efforts are being made to increase and stabilize trade between Bulgaria and Greece. The exports of Bulgarian manufacturers to Greece in 1987 grew. New forms of trade and economic cooperation such as joint production schemes and mixed societies are the main reserve for increasing bilateral trade even further.

Several mixed firms have been set up to produce and market metal-cutting lathes and chemicals in Greece. The joint building of antibiotic production lines, the joint mining and processing of antibiotic production lines, the joint mining and processing of non-ferrous metal ores, the manufacture of Bulgarian personal computers in Greece, and the construction of a gas pipeline between the USSR and Greece through Bulgarian territory have good prospects.

The continuous expansion of trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and Romania is based on the two countries' participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and long-term treaties on a wide range of issues.

Trade and economic relations have been developing successfully also between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Trade between them increased from 19.2 million currency leva in 1960 to 193.1 million currency leva in 1987.

Gerasimov Comments on POW Deaths in Poland

PM051003 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Kuvshinnikov report: "Memory of Soviet Prisoners of War"]

[Text] A book has been published in Poland which contains a list of names of Soviet prisoners of war who died on Polish territory during World War II. G. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, reported this at a regular meeting with journalists.

He recalled that a book entitled "Memory" was published in Poland last year. It is a list of Soviet Army servicemen who fell while liberating Poland. A second edition is now being prepared, suppplemented by names of soldiers who had previously been considered unknown. But the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes went still further: It also studied burials of Soviet prisoners of war who died in Hitlerite concentration camps on Polish territory. According to the commission's data, 4.7 million Soviet prisoners of war passed through Poland during the war years. Approximately 1.8 million of them died or were executed during transportation.

On Polish territory some 205 places of burial of Soviet prisoners of war have been brought to light in which more than 808,000 persons are buried. The surnames of 611,000 are known. Many of the burial sites are not marked by even the simplest memorial signs.

According to Polish research data and numerous eyewitness testimonies, the majority of the Soviet prisoners of war who found themselves in Hitlerite concentration camps remained devoted to the motherland, participated in the resistance, and organized the underground struggle under extremely difficult conditions. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet servicemen who escaped from imprisonment on Polish territory continued to fight the fascists in partisan detachments and underground. There are numerous facts that bear this out.

It seems to us that it is time to remove the shroud of oblivion from our many compatriots—victims of fascism—G. Gerasimov said. And we are grateful to the noble undertaking tackled by the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in seeking out burial sites of Soviet prisoners of war on Polish territory.

Tolkunov Chairs Parliamentary Group Session

LD041637 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—Today there was a meeting of the Bureau of the Committee of the USSR Parliamentary Group, chaired by Lev Tolkunov.

It discussed questions pertaining to the participation of a delegation of the USSR Parliamentary Group in the work of the 79th Interparliamentary Conference and meetings of other organs of the Interparliamentary Union (Guatemala, April 8-16, 1988).

AAPSO Concerned by 'Team Spirit' Exercise

LD040910 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Cairo April 4 TASS—The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) has expressed concern over U.S.-South Korean military maneuvers codenamed "Team Spirit'88".

In a statement issued here Sunday the international organization said maneuvers involving thousands of American and South Korean troops armed with newest weapons, including nuclear ones, were not only preventing democratization in South Korea and a peaceful re-unification of the country, but also posing a serious threat to the whole region.

Washington and Seoul, the AAPSO said, were seeking to justify their activities with allegations about a "threat from the North" and a "need to ensure security at the Olympic Games", but the real nature of the war games could not mislead anybody.

'Top Priority' Program on INF Ratification

LD022147 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 1 Apr 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Vladimir Pozner with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov of the United States and Canada Institute]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority." With me on the panel, our usual guests, as I should now say not guests but permanent members, Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov, both of the USA and Canada Studies Institute. We have something nice to talk about, I think, today: the fact that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has recommended 17...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Vladimir, I'm very sorry interrupting you. You are our boss, but let me remind you and our listeners that besides Senate, (?what and whatever it is), there is another event to my mind not less important than that one. What is the date today, Vladimir?

[Pozner] Today's 1 April.

[Bogdanov] What does it mean, Vladimir?

[Pozner] Well to me, it means it's my birthday, believe it or not.

[Bogdanov] Many happy returns. But at the same time...

[Pozner, interrupting] April Fool's Day, yes.

[Bogdanov] Are you serious that it's your birthday?

[Pozner] Yes. I can show you my birth certificate, yes.

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes. But what about our American listeners; whatever we are talking about today might be taken as a 1...

[Pozner] A 1 April joke. Well, we're recording 1 April, but this program will be repeated on other days, so it is serious. Let's get back to the topic now. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has voted by 17 for and 2 against to recommend the INF Treaty for ratification to the summit [as heard]. And the general feeling I think is in the United States, judging from what we've been hearing, and in the Soviet Union, that indeed the INF Treaty will be ratified certainly by more than the two-thirds majority that is needed in the Senate and certainly by a vast majority of the deputies here in the Soviet Union, in the Supreme Soviet.

However, this, there will be some problems because there seems to be a desire in the Senate to tack on an amendment, a so-called binding condition, which would bar the President from changing the accord's interpretation, any President in the future from changing the accord's interpretation, as has seemed to have happened with the ABM Treaty of 1972.

[Plekhanov] Has actually happened.

[Pozner] Has indeed happened. The Senate, it would seem, does not want that to happen in the future, and there might be a battle around that. And of course there's, that is, of course a specifically American problem that I don't think it's for us to comment on, although I would as just a human being say that a treaty is written in a certain way, there is a letter to it and a spirit, and it would seem to me that that should remain the way it is in the future. Would you not agree?

[Bogdanov] This is your logic; this is not American logic, I'm sorry.

[Pozner] Do you mean to say that there is this American logic, Soviet logic...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Yes, I mean that!

[Pozner] Isn't there just plain logic?

[Bogdanov] Yes, and plain logic. There are so many logics in this world.

[Pozner] Oh, really?

[Bogdanov] Yes, and we have to take sides with this logic or the other logic.

[Pozner] What do you say, Dr Plekhanov? Do you think that there are different logics? I thought logic is logic.

[Plekhanov] As far as treaties are concerned, there is an old ancient Latin principle: (?pacta servanda sint), pacts must be fulfilled, or treaties must be fulfilled. I think that we should, really stick to some common idea, common language.

[Pozner] I support the ancient Romans.

[Bogdanov] My, my friend, my good friend Sergey is very rigorous as usual.

[Pozner] But also very erudite. Okay. Now, so much for that issue. Another one of course is there seem to be certain concerns as to whether or not the conditions of the treaty can indeed be verified; are there not some loopholes? And there is discussion about the fact that the treaty that is now being discussed in Geneva concerning the 50-percent cut in strategic offensive nuclear weapons, the so-called START negotiations. There, there are just some really, really serious verification problems, although it seems that both sides now are trying to get the treaty ready for President Reagan's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union. It is not yet clear whether or not they'll be able to do that. Do you feel that verification is really that much of an issue?

[Bogdanov] Well, this is of course very much of an issue, it was, but I believe it is not now. Let me offer you one logic which you may not agree with, but you may agree with. People are talking about, at the America end, that there are loopholes in the treaty with the verification. People are worried about the spares, about the numbers of additional missiles and things like that. But people in the Senate, some people at least in the Senate, they forget about one basic verification provision, which is that you are forbidden to test. So, my question to them is what for you gather spares? What for you gather...

[Pozner, interrupting] What is the use of a reserve if you can't touch it? That's what you're saying.

[Bogdanov] What is the use of reserve if you cannot touch it? Are we as rich as the Americans are just to keep the bits just for the sake of keeping them?

[Pozner] So what you're saying is that there is no, it doesn't, there is no rhyme or reason to keep a reserve in a situation where you can't test them.

[Bogdanov] Number one. And my second point is, if you believe in deterrent effects of the nuclear weapons and INF missiles, first of all, you should make them visible, then it has a deterrent effect. If they don't know that we have spares and we have missiles, what is the effect it will have on the American behavior? We have no reason to...

[Pozner, interrupting] Whereas it's not a deterrent if you can't see it?

[Bogdanov] Oh yes, of course there is none.

[Pozner] How do you feel, Dr Plekhanov? How do you feel about this?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that the verification is always a problem, but in this particular treaty, er, as far as I know, there is a new and more advanced set of verification procedures being discussed by two sides, and the Soviet Union is very forthcoming on that problem; we think the verification is just as important for us as it is for the American side. We don't want a treaty with big loopholes. So I don't think that it is a hurdle which cannot be overcome. I think that it's a thing which can be worked out if there is a will on both sides, and there seems to be will on both sides.

[Pozner] Well, you know, they speak now about two loopholes, two major loopholes: one concerning the inventory that we've just spoken about, that is to say the number of missiles deployed, and no one seems to have any doubt here that both sides know exactly how much the other side has deployed, and then the number of reserves that are stockpiled, and that's where the question comes up, there is not total clarity. But you, Dr Bogdanov, have made it quite clear that that doesn't seem to be important. Now there's another loophole that they talk about, and that is, that you can fit a smaller warhead on a missile that is below the INF range, but if you put a smaller missile on it, then its range will increase and it will become INF. Don't you think that's a somewhat esoteric, artificial exercise?

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, if I were invited to the American Senate just to express my doubts about the American ability to cheat us, and they're more able to cheat us because, I'm sorry to say, they're more technologically advanced than we are, so that's why I say they're more dangerous in that sense of cheating us. I would deliver just a number of examples how they could have possibly cheated us. But in this particular case with this smaller thing, you know...

[Pozner, interrupting] The smaller warhead.

[Bogdanov] Yes, I mean the smaller warhead. Again my question is: What for? What is the purpose of doing all that? You have already battlefield weapons, you have it on the table, you have it in the deployed with your troops. What for you need that? So I...

[Plekhanov, interrupting] That brings to mind the worries of some neurotic people we, who worry before, you know, entering into marriage, before marrying, that, well, what are the guarantees that the other side will not betray me, will not be unfaithful...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Sergey, maybe that's why you have a contract, marriage contract, isn't it? [laughter] You have, as you have an INF Treaty.

[Plekhanov] Right, maybe.

[Pozner] You know when you talk about all of this cheating, it reminds me of a joke, a joke that dates back now many years, that supposedly the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to destroy all their strategic weapons, the ballistic missiles and what have you, and so both sides proceeded to do so, but the United States, since it is, it had the technology superiority, decided to hide one of its missiles which it very effectively did. Finally, when everything was done, the President of the United States called up the leader of the Soviet Union and said: Alright you guys now, you'd better surrender because we have one missile left, and we know that you don't have any.

So of course there was an urgent meeting in the Kremlin, and the leadership is sitting around here discussing what do we do, and suddenly there's a phone call comes in from a sergeant somewhere out in Siberia who says: Please don't punish me; I'm terribly sorry, but we were poking around in this junk pile, and we found three of our missiles that we didn't destroy, which reflects those times when we were pretty sloppy. Now times have changed. I don't think we're that sloppy anymore [words indistinct]. We won't be forgetting missiles in junk piles. And on the other hand, I think that if the United States, if some people in the United States feel they have a legitimate reason to fear Soviet cheating, I think that the Soviet Union has just, in fact more adequate reasons to fear American cheating, and I can give you a concrete example which has perhaps nothing to do with missiles per se, but certainly has to do with agreements. Look at the situation in Afghanistan. Initially, the United States had one position on how it was going to react and act and kind of help and support, improve the situation there and making it, if you wish, easier for the Soviet Union to pull out its troops, and then at the last minute there's this reversal. What do you say about that? And what's going to happen in Afghanistan?

[Bogdanov] Here Vladimir, you've spoiled my mood on 1 April. I hate to talk about Afghanistan today.

[Pozner] Well, it's my birthday. I'd prefer to talk about something else too.

[Bogdanov] On your birthday, on such a sunny day in Moscow to talk about such an unpleasant thing as American behavior in Afghanistan.

[Pozner] Well, let's talk about it.

[Bogdanov] Yes, if you suggest.

[Pozner] I insist, I insist. What's happening there?

[Bogdanov] So (?have) another look. I have, I believe that one of our "Top Priority's" we should just devote to Afghanistan—to share with our listeners our understanding of American behavior, but I'm afraid the time is running out.

[Pozner] We have, we have plenty of time.

[Bogdanov] And I would like to say just one thing that it's another example how our American partner is difficult to deal with and to trust, about cheating by the way. It's another problem.

[Pozner] Well, you know, perhaps not all of our listeners know exactly what happened there. Why don't we tell them?

[Bogdanov] Yeah, let me put it in a very, very brief, you know, and in a nutshell. We have got an agreement with the American side that you, the American side will be one of the parties guaranteeing the accord on, around, around the Afghanistan situation.

[Pozner] So the United States would guarantee noninterference.

[Bogdanov] The United States would guarantee noninterference, and they'd be, they'd stop supplying arms and money to the mujahidin, and that's about all.

[Pozner] So that agreement was reached between...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] That agreement would be reached between Afghanistan and Pakistan, three papers, three documents were meant to be signed in Geneva, and one paper about that very important provision, and we think and it's an obligation on us, that we start withdrawing our troops after 60 days from the moment of the signing of agreements. And to please, to satisfy American demands we have agreed to withdraw the main bulk of our fighting combat troops within the first 3 months. That was the wish of the American side. Then, when we were about to sign, literally speaking, about to sign that agreement in Geneva, Pakistani put, and Americans put two preconditions absolutely unacceptable for us.

[Pozner] New conditions.

[Bogdanov] New conditions which were not meant to, not discussed before.

[Pozner] Which were?

[Bogdanov] Which were, first about the so-called coalition interim government, interim government, and number two about the moratorium, if you like. By the way, the American side hated that word, as you know—moratorium was a forbidden word.

[Pozner] When we talked about nuclear testing.

[Bogdanov] Yes, yes. Now they want a moratorium on the Soviet aid to the Kabul government.

[Pozner] So what they're saying is the new conditions, or what?

[Bogdanov] New conditions first of all, interim government, an interim government to replace the current government. And second to stop, to moratorium on the Soviet aid to Kabul government within, if I'm not mistaken, 1 year. (?Symmetrical), as they call it, symmetrical to Americans stopping aid to the mujahidin.

[Pozner] Okay. These are new conditions.

[Bogdanov] Oh, absolutely new conditions. And mind you, what does it mean if we stop our aid to the Kabul government? It means that the American side has a right to intervene in our relations with the Kabul government, which is sovereign government, but another point of mine is, and Sergey mentioned that already in the last "Top Priority," you remember? We were supplying help, aid to the government, to the Kabul government in 1921. Now, there is only one explanation to that: They had, the American side, those new conditions already in their pockets while they were talking to us, and they were just assessing the right moment to deliver that to sabotage the agreement. And that's my very, very honest explanation.

[Pozner] So, very briefly now, Dr Plekhanov, what's going to happen since with these new conditions that clearly I don't think we will agree to: Does that mean that we will not withdraw our troops from Afghanistan? How do you interpret this?

[Plekhanov] No, if the Americans are not going to take part in the settlement, we will try to reach settlement without the Americans.

[Pozner] In other words, what we are saying is we would like to have a guarantee on the part of the United States, but we can make do without it, and we will pull our troops out regardless. Is that the idea?

[Plekhanov] I think so.

[Pozner] Well, I certainly think that that's a very positive approach, and I'm hoping that we'll see it happen, but I think that what we've just said here is indeed a comment on why we have reason at times to doubt what the United States says to us.

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, let me, let just me have two words. Suppose we have another situation, a regional conflict, in which we could possibly cooperate with the Americans to settle that conflict, I would be very much objecting then. How we can trust the American side? They promise one thing, they say, okay, it's settled, then they, after that they say no, no, no, wait a minute, wait a minute, we have some bad thoughts about that. I would not recommend to our side very much to cooperate with the Americans. Where is the trust; where is the trust?

[Pozner] What about, then, these agreements that we've signed? What about INF? Do you feel that these, that this kind of treaty if not airtight, is at least adequate? Do you feel that this kind of thing does make sense?

[Plekhanov] It does make sense because the verification procedures are very strict, and I'm perfectly, I for one, am perfectly happy with those conditions.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, my problem is how to (?invent) such a verification procedure that would guarantee the accomplishment of [words indistinct].

[Pozner] Yes, yes, well, you can't do that; you can't do that. Right.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, do you know such a procedure?

[Plekhanov] Right, beyond the issue of trust but verify, there is a problem of simple human trust between partners. You can only build a partnership or a normal relationship when you know that the other side does not carry a gun in the back pocket.

[Pozner] Yeah, I mean, that can only happen after you have worked together for a while, when you've had first serious agreements that can be verified and then when you see that they're indeed being conducted properly, then you can begin to have human trust. That's the way I feel about it. I know that you're shaking your head, Dr Bogdanov; you're the old pessimist. I'm pretty much the optimist, and Dr Plekhanov is middle-of-the-road. On that, let me wish all of you a very good 1 April. Good listening, and tune in next week at the same time for the next edition of "Top Priority."

'International Situation—Questions and Answers'

LD012302 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0930 GMT 1 Apr 88

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program, presented by Sergey Pravdin with Sergey Andreyevich Losev, general director of TASS, and international affairs journalists Valentin Zvenin, Boris Andrianov, Vladimir Pasko, Igor Surguchev, Vyacheslav Lavrentyev, and Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Pravdin] Comrade Chernov from Leningrad is interested to know why the U.S. Administration is retreating from the Washington accords and is in no hurry to prepare a treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and United States. So why do we need a visit by Ronald Reagan to Moscow, if he does not intend to sign a treaty during that visit? asks the writer of the letter.

[Losev] First, it is too early to say quite definitely that the treaty on limiting strategic offensive weapons will not be ready for President Reagan's visit to Moscow, which will take place from 29 May to 2 June this year. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement on the results of the Washington meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan contains a firm undertaking to complete as soon as possible the elaboration of the treaty and the documents connected with it so that it could be signed during the Moscow meeting of the two leaders.

At the end of March, USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz examined in Washington a joint draft protocol on inspections, a protocol on conversion and on scrapping strategic offensive weapons, and a memorandum on an accord. Nevertheless, there remain substantial differences, and it cannot be guaranteed that the treaty will indeed be signed in Moscow. Even if the treaty is not ready by the end of May, the Moscow meeting is still worth holding. It will deal with a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts—in the Mideast, in Central America, and the situation surrounding Afghanistan. There is the possibility of an accord on a global ban on chemical weapons and on the problem of nuclear tests and progress in the question of reducing conventional weapons.

[Pravdin] Comrade Polosikh from Vorozhba Station in Sumy Oblast asks how the process of preparing to scrap intermediate- and shorter-range missiles delivered from the GDR and Czechoslovakia is going.

[Losev] The treaty on scrapping intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is not yet ratified, but the Soviet Union has already embarked on a withdrawal from the two fraternal socialist countries ahead of schedule. In this way we have confirmed our goodwill, but the process of scrapping the missiles itself will take place after the ratification of the treaty.

[Pravdin] Our regular listener, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Tyutrin from Orekhovo-Zuyevo, who has sent us a review of one of our programs, "International Situation—Questions and Answers," asks in particular whether there is any progress in the negotiations on cutting conventional weapons and also on cutting chemical weapons.

[Losev] The Vienna talks on cutting weapons and armed forces in central Europe are, unfortunately, marking time because of the unconstructive attitude of the West. The United States has so far shown no interest in the Soviet proposal to exchange precise data on the numbers of troops and conventional weapons in Europe. At the same time, based on inventions about a Soviet advantage, NATO is demanding disproportionate reductions in the forces of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact.

Now to deal with chemical weapons: Multilateral and bilateral talks aimed at achieving a comprehensive, genuinely global ban on chemical weapons are continuing in Geneva. There is still a chance of the option of an international convention on this question. The decision of the United States to start production of the latest binary chemical weapons simply does not square with this.

[Pravdin] Our regular listener Vera Dmitriyevna Telman from Moscow asks how things are going at the talks on a settlement of the Afghan situation.

[Losev] The talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the personal representative of UN Secretary General Cordovez should have ended in Geneva on 15 March with the signing of four agreements that would allow the start on 15 May of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and its completion in 9 months. However, at the last moment the Pakistani side, under the influence of the United States, put forth a range of new conditions having no bearing on the matter, and representing an attempt to dictate to the Soviet Union and Afghanistan how they should build their bilateral relations with each other. [passage omitted on Svenin remarks]

[Pravdin] Why does Pakistan need an atom bomb, which it intends to create in the near future? This question is put by listener Vladimir Raznov from Schetochnyy village in Gorkiy Oblast. Our commentator Boris Andrianov replies to it:

[Andrianov] I understand why Comrade Raznov is interested in the motives behind the aspiration of the rulers of Pakistan to have their own mass destruction weapons. For in Moscow and Washington at present, ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is in the offing. Preparations are being made for a new meeting of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States at which there will be discussion of a treaty on destruction of half the strategic offensive weapons that both states possess.

It is at this very time that news is coming from the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, that the Ziaul Haq regime is stepping up its nuclear program with all its might. In all fairness it should be noted that Pakistan has never denied its intention to make nuclear weapons. Back in the 1960's, one of its leaders stated: "We will make the bomb even if we have to eat grass." Incidentally, nowadays building a nuclear device is in principle not so complicated. This was stated about 12 years ago by a U.S. student who used only generally accessible information in his work. A country wishing to acquire nuclear potential needs, apart from knowledge and considerable financial funds, at least two components: uranium raw material and complex technology. Pakistan had neither. So where did it get all this? Indeed there is a treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. It is precisely this international document that has deliberately been violated by certain NATO countries, helping the Islamabad regime in its work on its nuclear program. It is codenamed "Project 706".

In fact, Pakistan acquired everything necessary for this project by the backdoor, as the saying goes. In this respect, special favor has been granted by the United States, which has been reflected even in public statements by U.S. figures. Thus, for instance, 5 years ago, talking to students, President Reagan affirmed that allegedly, there is nothing terrible in some country having one or two bombs, meaning, of course, nuclear ones. Moreover, Washington's official representative responsible for Islamabad's nuclear program frankly declared that the administration would not take any measures against Pakistan even if it discovered the bomb in President Ziaul Haq's basement.

It is quite evident that it is primarily Washington that needs an Islamabad regime with nuclear weapons, for Pakistan has been turned into the United State's strategic ally in South and Southeast Asia. Washington politicians have quite a big stake in Pakistan in this region. It is sufficient to remember at least the role of the Ziaul Haq regime in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. The strengthening of the militaristic alliance of Washington and Islamabad testifies to the plans of the transatlantic strategists to use Pakistan's military potential for pressure on neighboring states and to make the Pakistani bomb an instrument for their blackmail. [passage omitted on Surguchev, Pasko, Patsyuk, Lavrentyev remarks]

United States & Canada

INF Treaty Faces Opposition in U.S. Senate

PM050815 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 88 Second Edition pp 1, 7

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "First Step Along the Path to Ratification"]

[Text] Washington—The overcrowded hall burst into applause which echoed all along the long corridor of the U.S. Senate's Dirksen Office Building. Stretching on tiptoe, people caught sight of the expressions on the faces of senators seated around the semicircular table. They were openly overjoyed, and were unwilling to disperse even when everything came to an end.

That was indeed a vivid moment, and it was no accident that Senator A. Cranston described it as "one of the most wonderful." Shortly before midday on 30 March, by 17 votes to 2, the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee expressed support for the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This resolution, also reflecting the opinion of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, submits the historic accord for examination by the whole upper chamber of Congress, which alone is vested by the U.S. Constitution with the right to "advise and consent" to its ratification.

Paul Sarbanes, representing the State of Maryland in the Senate, estimated that the committee has held a total of 29 hearings since the end of January. Testimony was given by dozens of high-ranking staffers of the Reagan administration, leaders of the Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, U.S. representatives at the Geneva talks, experts, and famous figures from former administrations.

Of course, nobody had any illusions or imagined that the discussion on the treaty would go smoothly. The new political thinking displayed by the Soviet Union is certainly encountering a response here, but this response is clearly insufficient for any excessive jubilation. The process of "reassessment of values" into which America's rulers have been pushed by our new flexible and creative approaches is progressing more slowly than one would like.

It appears that the recent hearings fully reflected the entire contradictory nature of moods prevailing on the banks of the Potomac, just like the profound and fundamental nature of differences between the USSR and the United States on a broad range of questions. The majority's awareness of the common task to survive in the nuclear age, for example, is clashing with the same old view of the "impossibility to trust" the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, the discussion was largely steered along these lines by the tactics used by the White House itself, which used statements by Shultz, Carlucci, Admiral Crowe, and other high-ranking figures to at times ascribe to the USSR the most improper incentives, motivations, and goals.

Just 1 day before the vote was taken, Helms, backed by his confederates, asked for the Senate to convene in camera to discuss yet again "the Soviet lie about its nuclear forces." His attempt to thus block the vote in the Senate Committee failed.

Nevertheless, yesterday's recommendation by the committee to the Senate ended up with a "rider." Following the rather sharp arguments, a proviso was added to it on the Democrats' initiative which is mandatory for Washington but does not apply to the Soviet side. According to the committee's resolution, "the United States must interpret this treaty in accordance with the way it is understood by the Executive and the Senate at the moment the Senate agrees to ratification." In plain language, this means that neither the present nor future administrations will be at liberty to interpret anew the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles without proper agreement by the Senate.

This proviso is in direct response to actions by the White House, which intends to provide a "new interpretation" to the ABM Treaty so as to legalize tests of space weapons within the Star Wars framework which are banned by the ABM Treaty. Even though the administration's obsession with the SDI idea is well known, it is evident that the legislators' protest is still growing.

Observers interpret the importance and possible consequences of the appended proviso in two ways. On the one hand, they recognize the justification for senators' concern. On the other hand, however, fears are expressed that the introduction of differences around the ABM Treaty into the debate on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles could seriously complicate the entire process of discussion at the Senate.

Be that as it may, the forthcoming battle in the Senate is not going to be easy. And only because that same Helms promised to reintroduce a series of "killer amendments" there. The variety of views held by the 100 members of the upper chamber (approval of the treaty requires a two-thirds vote, namely 67 legislators) the inconsistency of many of them, and the narrow interests which often gain the upper hand, virtually guarantee heated clashes. As of today, observers count a maximum of 12 senators opposing the treaty's ratification.

Gorbachev Message Given to U.S. Schoolchildren

LD011625 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—"Exchanges between Soviet and American school-children are very important bridges of friendship. Let there be more such bridges and meetings.

"We would like that meetings between school-children from the USSR and the United States become a good tradition," says a verbal message from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa Gorbachev, handed over today by Valentina Tereshkova, president of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, to a group of American school-children, currently in Moscow.

The American children received along with the message a photo with the Gorbachevs' autographs.

"Mikhail Sergeyevich and Raisa Maksimovna asked me to convey their good wishes and gratitude to the teacher of Ramapo High School (a private school in Spring Valley, New York) Donald Cairns and his pupils for their letter and good wishes," Tereshkova said.

Ramapo High School offers a course in Russian history. Starting from 1982 it has maintained ties with a school in Moscow. It organises a trip of pupils to the Soviet Union every two years. One of the groups led by the initiator of the exchanges, Cairns, is currently in Moscow.

Young people in the Soviet Union and the United States had the future entrusted to them, said Cairns, addressing the meeting.

"We are not turning away from the realities that divide the Soviet Union and the United States," he said. "We ought to pool our efforts for the survival of mankind. We share the same planet and peace alone can preserve it."

On behalf of the American school-children, the teacher presented Tereshkova with a T-shirt (part of the uniform of Ramapo High School pupils) bearing the national emblem of the USSR and the Russian-language inscription "Russian history course."

U.S. War Crimes Official Holds Talks in Moscow

*LD231244 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT
23 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Neal Sher, director of the Office of Special Investigations, the Department of Justice of the United States, stayed in the Soviet Union on March 20-22. On March 21 he was received by First Deputy General Procurator of the USSR Aleksandr Sukharev. They disclosed Nazi criminal deeds of the period of the Second World War. Senior officials of the Procurator's Office of the USSR, the Foreign Ministry of the USSR and the Embassy of the United States in Moscow participated in the meeting which was frank and businesslike.

Near Sher left for home today.

U.S. Official Visits Athens To Discuss Cyprus

*LD010927 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT
1 Apr 88*

[Text] Athens April 1 TASS—M. Wilkinson, a special coordinator on Cyprus of the U.S. State Department, arrives here today. He is to meet with top Greek Government officials to discuss issues related to the problem of Cyprus. Local mass media note that before this the U.S. coordinator has visited Cyprus where he met with President Vassiliou as well as with R. Denktash, leader of the island's Turkish community. Observers believe that Wilkinson's trip has been undertaken in order to study the situation as part of the U.S. plans to mediate in solving the Cyprus problem.

U.S. Senate Delegation Visits Leningrad

Senator Johnston Interviewed

*LD011918 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT
1 Apr 88*

[Text] Leningrad April 1 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Kondratenko:

New political thinking broadens the Soviet-American dialogue on the most important international issues and questions pertaining to bilateral relations. Last month alone, a group of Americans visited the Soviet Union. And now a new meeting: A delegation of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the USA led by Senator Bennett Johnston, arrived on an official visit at the invitation of the commissions on energy of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The delegation includes 40 senators from Louisiana, Idaho, Alaska, Nevada, Washington, Virginia, Florida, Colorado and North Dakota, heads and advisers of the committee, staff members of the library of the U.S. Congress and of the Russian Research Centre under Harvard University.

The guests started on a tour of the Soviet Union with Leningrad, where they arrived in the afternoon today. In the airport the delegation was welcomed by Vice-Mayor Valentina Matviyenko and other officials.

Speaking in a TASS interview, Bennett Johnston stressed that the delegation led by him is one of the most representative ever to have visited the Soviet Union. He spoke highly of the Soviet policy and of the perestroyka drive. During the upcoming meetings, Johnston said, we hope to discuss a broad range of issues concerning arms control, a cut in conventional weapons and other problems of mutual interest. In the course of the tour of the USSR we hope to get more information so as to give the President recommendations that will enable to ensure new progress in American-Soviet relations.

Answering the correspondent's question about the upcoming ratification of the INF treaty, Bennett Johnston answered in the affirmative. Yes, we are going to ratify it, he confidently said.

In Victory Square, the American senators saw the monument to the heroic defenders of Leningrad and laid flowers.

Received by Deputy Mayor

LD021619 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Leningrad April 2 TASS—A delegation of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural resources, that arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit yesterday, devoted today to Leningrad.

The guests were received at the Mariinski Palace, the seat of the City Soviet. Greeting the senators in the White Hall, Deputy Mayor Valentina Matviyenko said: "The visit by your important delegation is added evidence of the growing dynamism of contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States. Such meetings generate better mutual knowledge and understandings of the problems that we should solve together. We are for continuing such a dialogue."

"We also regard the expansion of contacts as important, especially now when noticeable changes are taking place in American-Soviet relations. We are looking forward to our talks in Moscow during which we will discuss a wide range of issues of mutual interest," said the head of the delegation Senator Bennett Johnston of Louisiana.

Touching on the Soviet-American INF treaty he said that "this treaty should be viewed as the first step towards disarmament and lesser international tension. The American side hopes for new reuslts."

During the conversation the guests were acquainted with the history of Leningrad and the tasks confronted by the city authorities in the process of perestroyka, as well as with plans of regional social and economic development, ecological issues and preservation of ancient monuments.

The delegation laid a wreath at the Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery where more than half a million Leningraders and soldiers who fell in World War Two are interred.

Then the delegation went to the Hermitage where works from several U.S. museums are now on display and also to the Russian Museum.

Economic Delegation Ends Visit to Canada

LD020538 Moscow TASS in English 0534 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Ottawa February 19 [date as received] TASS—The visit to Canada by the delegation of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, led by Deputy Minister Yu. N. Chumakov is over. On the delegation were the leading officials of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the bank for foreign economic relations, the State Commission for Foreign Economic Relations of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and of a number of all-union foreign-trade associations.

The Soviet delegation members attended business conferences which were organized by the Canadian side in three cities—Montreal, Toronto, and Calgary—and which dealt with the development of trade relations between Canada and the Soviet Union. The conferences were accompanied with an exhibition of Soviet export commodities which are new for the Canadian market. The Canadian participants were unanimous that the conferences were a big success and aroused an exceptionally high interest on the part of Canadian business circles, and will undoubtedly promote further development of trade between the two countries.

Representatives of the Canadian business community showed a lively interest in prospects for the development of trade-and-economic relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegation members had talks with representatives of major Canadian firms—the Power Corporation, the Lavalin, the Bell Canada, the Magna International, the SNC, and others.

China

Current Situation Around Tibet Described

LD041645 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing, 4 Apr (TASS correspondent)—The Tibetan Hall of the Great Hall of the People in the Chinese capital is full of Chinese and foreign journalists. The PRC's Central Television is transmitting a live relay. Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme and Banqen Erdini Qoigyi Guancan (the Panchen Lama), vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress [NPC], are talking to correspondents in connection with the first NPC session of the seventh convocation, which is in progress here.

The interest in the press conference by the NPC deputies from the Tibet Autonomous Region is not coincidental: Disorders that led to casualties occurred in the center of the autonomous region, the city of Lhasa, in September and October last year and in March this year. The Chinese press testifies that the provocative speech by the Dalai Lama in the U.S. Congress in September 1987 was an instigatory call for unrest.

The situation in Tibet is calm at the moment, but factors of instability remain. The overwhelming majority of Tibetan peasants and herdsmen are opposed to any attempts to undermine the cohesion of the country's nationalities, said Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme. Only 0.5 percent of the autonomous region's population took part in the disturbances. The riots, he said, showed that destabilization of the situation is contrary to the fundamental interests of the population. In the final analysis it was the Tibetan people themselves who were the real victims of the disturbances every time.

Concerning the cause of the riots, Banqen Erdini stressed that they were provoked by separatists within the country and abroad. On the other hand, the subversive elements made use of the consequences of "leftist tendencies" in the nationalities policy that has long been followed in Tibet.

In order for stability and calm to be reached in the autonomous region, he indicated, the activities of the separatists must be curtailed, strictly according to the law. The policy of regional autonomy in the areas where national minorities live should be implemented consistently, "the wounds caused by leftist mistakes" should be "healed," the economic development of the region should be accelerated, and the living standards of Tibetans raised. Regrettably, the speaker observed, "leftist ideas" continue to be deep-seated in the minds of certain cadre workers. This creates difficulties on the path of consistent implementation of the nationalities policy.

In Lhasa last year, 74 lamas who participated in riots were arrested, and 59 were released. According to what he said, the remaining 15 could have been freed but for the March events, as a result of which 4 people including a policeman died and 330 police and 110 civilians were injured.

The speaker stated that Beijing's policy regarding the Dalai Lama remains unchanged. The chief condition for his return to his homeland is recognition of the fact that Tibet is an integral part of China, and also active efforts to strengthen national unity and participation in socialist construction in the PRC, including construction of a socialist Tibet.

Banqen Erdini reported that the presidium of the session of the People's Congress is to submit a decision on his total rehabilitation and to quash the false accusations made against him in the period of the "Cultural Revolution." In his capacity as acting chairman of the preparatory committee for formation of the Tibetan Autonomous Region following the flight of the Dalai Lama abroad, Banqen Erdini submitted proposals on democratic reforms in Tibet for examination by the central government. Some of them were accepted, but his report had displeased Mao Zedong, and Banquen Erdini became a "target of class struggle" and was imprisoned.

Zhao Ziyang Comments on PRC-Indian Relations

LD021529 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 2 TASS—China sincerely wishes to establish goodneighbourly relations with India, said Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, during a meeting with a delegation of the Communist Party of India [CPI] led by Rajeshwara Rao, general secretary of the CPI National Council. He expressed satisfaction with the restoration of relations between the CPC and the CPI.

The XINHUA agency reports that touching on the border problem between the two countries, Zhao Ziyang noted that China hoped for the earliest solution of this question. However, he said, this depends on the efforts of the two countries. The general secretary of the CPC Central Committee added that history, the present status and national feelings of the two nations should be taken into account. Before this question is settled, China is for maintaining peace and quietude on the Chinese-Indian border. The sides should develop cooperation in the economic, trade, cultural and other spheres, which will promote a favourable solution of the border problems.

Speaking of bilateral relations between the Communist Parties, Zhao Ziyang emphasized the importance of mutual understanding. Opinions of all parties cannot be identical on all issues, since they operate under different conditions and appraise problems from different points of view. Therefore, it is quite natural that there can be differences and disputes between them. The most important thing lies in the fact that parties should strive for common views, despite differences, and should not impose their opinion on others. The CPC abides precisely by these principles in its relations with other parties.

Rajeshwara Rao favoured further development of relations between the CPI and the CPC on the basis of independence and non-interference in home affairs of one another.

Wu Xueqian Views Trade, Economic Reform

LD041610 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Beijing April 4 TASS—Chinese diplomacy promotes the policy of reforms and widening of ties with outside world. Its interests require the ensurance of peace and stability on the globe, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the PRC Wu Xueqian said in an interview to XINHUA NEWS AGENCY. He said China is becoming stronger with every day and, as an important factor of peace, will be playing an ever more substantial role in international affairs. In present-day conditions the factors of peace are stronger than the factors of war. All this promotes the economic development of the PRC, he said.

The minister emphasized the importance of the exchange of experience among socialist countries in the area of reforms. He noted that each of the socialist countries charts its own paths for transformations.

Touching upon relations of the PRC with capitalist countries he noted that the West came to understand Chinese policy better and now displays great confidence about China's future and shows interest in it as a huge potential market. The minister said that a successful development of commercial, economic, scientific and technological cooperation is a positive aspect in China's relations with developing countries.

China's refusal to form alliances or establish strategic relations with large powers is an important principle of the foreign policy of the PRC Foreign Ministry formulated by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council of the PRC, Wu Xueqian said.

Vinogradov Compares USSR, PRC Reforms

OW011115 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Station reporter Aleksandr Ilichev interviewed Andrey Vinogradov, fellow of the Far East Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The following is an excerpt from the interview:

Ilichev: The Soviet people have a keen interest in the reforms in China and such interest is not accidental. It should be noted that our country is carrying out similar reforms.

Vinogradov: I think we should not only stress the similarities in reforms being carried out in the two nations. As a matter of fact, Chinese scholars have often mentioned the differences in reforms being carried out in the two nations. First of all, they stress that the approach and methods of economic reforms are somewhat different. In spite of this, the fundamental task that the two nations want to address is apparently the same; that is, speed up economic development. This is where the fundamental similarity lies. Although our two nations are at different stages in the development of socialism, we both are trying to speed up economic development on the basis of and within the scope of a socialist society.

Ilichev: That's right. The Soviet Union and China are at different stages of economic development. However, I think the different approaches toward reform are not decided by this point. We must take note of the fact the China is facing a series of special problems which we never had. They are, for example, China's huge population and surplus labor. We do not have such problems.

Vinogradov: What you have said is very correct. Although the two nations' approaches and methods of reform are different, the goal and orientation of reform are, in the final analysis, the same. Here I would like to stress one point: China's reform started in 1979; that is, 6 years earlier than the Soviet reform. As a result, China is ahead of us in some areas. For this reason, China's experience in enlivening the economy, improving economic management systems, and opening to the outside world is very important to us. Both China's positive and negative experiences are important. Their negative experiences can help us to avoid some undesirable consequences.

Ilichev: You are an expert on international relations. What impact will the reforms in the Soviet Union and China have on their foreign policies?

Vinogradov: Yes, I specialize in international relations. I want to first of all point out one thing: The domestic economic tasks that the Soviet Union and China want to solve through reform are similar and they do not affect the nature of their external tasks. First, to guarantee the development within their borders, they need the guarantee of peaceful external conditions. Of late, the positions of the Soviet Union and China on many issues, the issue of disarmament in particular, have become markedly similar. Probably this will greatly advance the development of relations between the two nations. As now the two nations urgently need to exchange experiences in reform, they must further develop their political relations.

Northeast Asia

South Korean Demonstrators, Police Clash

LD040903 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Tokyo April 4 TASS—Street fighting in Seoul on Sunday between thousands of demonstrators and the police detachments sent against them lasted three hours. According to reports reaching here, these clashes were the fiercest since the No Tae-u administration came to power in South Korea in February. A total of nearly 5,000 students and workers took part in the anti-government demonstrations. They chanted slogans calling for true democracy in the country, an increase in the pay to the South Korean workers and ensuring the rights of the trade unions.

In suppressing similar demonstrations of students of ten South Korean universities and workers the day before the police used tear gas grenades.

Seven Arrested in Chinju

LD050851 Moscow TASS in English 0744 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Tokyo April 5 TASS—Clouds of tear gas have enveloped the campuses of Songkyunkwan University and Konkuk University of Seoul. Hundreds of policemen from riot police units broke there, trying to disrupt anti-government actions of students and to prevent them from taking to the streets of the South Korean capital. In response to the use of tear gas grenades by the police in the course of two-hour clashes students bombarded them with stones and petrol bombs.

Seven student leaders were arrested at Kensan [name as received] University of Chinju, in the south of the country. Students protested against the police violence. In the course of three-hour clashes between the police and demonstrators about 18 people were wounded.

According to news agencies a wave of student demonstrations that swept the south of the Korean peninsula during the past several days is the most powerful one since the coming to office of the No Tae-u administration last February.

DPRK General Condemns 'Team Spirit-88'

LD011520 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Panmunjom April 1 TASS—Major General Lee The-ho, the chief delegate of the Korean-Chinese side at the Military Commission for Truce in Korea, has condemned the U.S.-South Korean military exercises "Team Spirit-88". Addressing the meeting of the commission today, he evaluated these exercises as preparations for an attack against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and a rehearsal of a nuclear war in the region.

The delegate of the Korean-Chinese side has rejected the claims by the U.S. representative at the commission about the "defensive" character of the exercises and expressed indignation at the attempts to justify the build-up of U.S. miltiary presence in that region by "the need for ensuring the security" of the Olympic games. The participation in the exercises of nearly 200,000 American and South Korean servicemen armed with advanced military equipment, including delivery vehicles of nuclear weapons, the training of landing and other offensive operations, the repeated violations of the DPRK's air and sea borders by U.S. and South Korean aircraft and ships are evidence that this is an aggressive demonstration of force creating a threat to peace in Korea and Asia. The DPRK demands an immediate end to these provocative exercises and withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from South Korea, Lee The-ho emphasized.

Soviet-Japanese Joint Lumbering Venture

OW040825 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Igirma-Tairiku, a Soviet-Japanese joint lumbering venture, has been put into operation. The factory, built in the Siberian village of Igirma, features up-to-date technological facilities and a high degree of automation.

A Soviet proposal for establishing joint ventures has been received with great interest by business communities overseas, including in Japan. Currently, contract talks are under way on the construction of a Soviet-Japanese youth rest center in the Baykal area and joint ventures for [word indistinct] production and marble mining.

Manager Interviewed

LD310208 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0000 GMT on 30 March 1988 broadcasts a report on the first joint Soviet-Japanese timber processing enterprise, Igirma-Tairiku, which has gone into operation in Irkutsk Oblast. Correspondent Nikolay Bidonov, in a report from the enterprise, describes the various machines in operation, noting that only one to two people are manning the machines which are programmed by computers. He also interviews Iosif Fomich (?Podyshev), the manager of the enterprise, who says that the plant is unique in our industry; it is fully automated and has extremely high quality requirements, especially regarding size. The permitted deviation is no more than one-tenth of a millimeter; productivity is approximately three to four times higher than that of USSR-made equipment. The expected level of profitability is no less than 26 percent. It is planned that the enterprise will pay for itself in 6 years and, if things are combined well, the recoupment period may be reduced to 5 years.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Official Supports SRV 'Goodwill' on Spratlys

BK011053 Hanoi International Service in English 1000 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Deputy Head of the International Commission of the CPSU Central Committee Smirnovskiy voiced his support for the goodwill and just stand of Vietnam regarding a peaceful solution to the disputes between Vietnam and China over the Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago.

The Soviet party official was speaking at a reception for Vietnamese Ambassador in Moscow Nguyen Manh Cam. He affirmed Soviet support for the constructive stand and goodwill expounded in the Foreign Ministry notes dated 17, 23, and 26 March. These notes call for nonuse of force and restraining from conflict to prevent the situation from worsening. The Vietnamese ambassador thanked the Soviet official for Soviet support.

Lawyers Delegation Meets Thai Prime Minister

LD041312 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Bangkok April 4 TASS—The Soviet lawyers delegation led by USSR Justice Minister Boris Kravtsov ended visit to Thailand. In the course of a week the guests familiarized themselves with Thailand's legal system, the activities of courts and the bar. The members of the delegation briefed their Thai colleagues on restructuring in Soviet jurisprudence, on measures to strengthen law and order and the protection of interests of the citizens.

Today the Soviet guests were received by Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon. In the course of the conversation he said that the Soviet delegation's visit to Thailand and the planned visit of Thai Justice Minister Sa-at Piyawan to the USSR is a useful exchange of experience accumulated in the legal systems of the two countries.

Philippines, U.S. Open Talks on Bases

LD050938 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Manila April 5 TASS—The United States and the Philippines opened the talks in Manila today to review the status of American military bases in the Philippines. The Philippine side is headed by Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus. The U.S. interests are represented by the delegation led by Nicholas Platt, U.S. ambassador to the Philippines.

The status of military bases located in the Philippines under the bilateral agreement signed over 40 years ago is reviewed every five years. At the same time, the current negotiations take on added importance since the U.S. further military presence in this country will largely hinge on their outcome.

President Corazon Aquino repeatedly stated that after the term of the agreement on military bases expires in 1991, the Philippines will retain for itself the right to decide their future fate.

The movement against the U.S. military presence is gaining momentum in the Philippines. Several bills which propose banning the introduction and storage of nuclear weapons in the country were submitted to the consideration of the Philippine Congress. Over a hundred public organisations united into the movement called the Campaign for Sovereign Philippines. Representatives of this mass organisation have as their key goal to get their country's territory rid completely of military presence.

Vice Admiral Komarov Clarifies Pacific Stand

'No Warships in South Pacific'

BK041250 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 22 Mar 88 p 8

[Text] There are no Soviet warships in the South Pacific and the Soviet Navy did not and would not carry out manoeuvres in the area, says Russia's first deputy chief of naval operations, Vice-Admiral Dmitriy Komarov.

He was responding to questions put to him by THE EVENING POST at the invitation of the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY.

Vice-Admiral Komarov was asked for information on Soviet naval activities in the South Pacific and specifically whether any Soviet ships or submarines had passed through New Zealand's 200-mile economic zone or within its 12-mile territorial limit in the past 12 months.

He did not respond directly although he said "there are no Soviet warships in the South Pacific."

He was also asked what role the Soviet Navy played in the South Pacific, whether Russia had strategic interests in the region and whether it intended manoeuvres here.

He replied that the Navy's principal mission was to defend Russia from the sea and to uphold USSR interest in the world ocean.

"The presence of Soviet warships in some areas remote from the Soviet coasts is a forced counter-measure taken in reply to United States actions. But our ships do not threaten anyone's security or sovereignty.

"The South Pacific is not such an area and Soveit warships rarely if ever exercise their right to freedom of navigation there.

"In the South Pacific one can only meet research vessels of the Soviet Navy, which conduct periodic studies under national or international programmes. Training ships make voyages with cadets on board."

Vice-Admiral Komarov did not directly answer a question about whether the Soviet Union was building up its Pacific fleet.

"The Soviet Union does not do anything beyond what is needed for reliable defence, so the Pacific fleet at present is in strict conformity with our defence requirements in the far East.

"The number of surface ships, submarines and aircraft within its composition is determined by the limits of reasonable sufficiency to repulse a possible act of aggression against our country. What is more, there has been of late even a certain reduction in the number of Soviet missile-carrying submarines in the Pacific."

Vice-Admiral Komarov denied any suggestion that Soviet trawlers collected intelligence for Russia.

"Soviet fishing boats, no matter what oceans of the world they may be operating in, are not sent, and cannot be sent on tasks for gathering intelligence data, because they do not have special equipment."

Cam Ranh Bay Not a Base

BK041258 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 22 Mar 88 p 8

[Text] The Soviet Union does not have a naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, says Russia's first deputy chief of naval operations Vice-Admiral Dmitriy Komarov.

Asked to reply to American claims that it has expanded its presence there he described Cam Ranh Bay as a "temporary facility for logistical support of ships of the Soviet Pacific Fleet.

"It operated with the agreement of the Vietnamese Government and was only intended to replenish fuel, food and water supplies, to carry out minor repairs and to provide rest facilities for crews," he said.

"There are no Soviet-owned installations there and we do not lease the territory of Cam Ranh. Practically every call by Soviet naval and support ships in the port is made with the permission of the Vietnamese side."

The number of calls at the base was decreasing and the USSR had no intention to turn the logistic point at Cam Ranh into a military or naval base, he said.

The Soviet Union was a confirmed opponent of foreign bases.

He added that Soviet naval forces in the Indian Ocean were small and had remained "practically unchanged" since negotiations on the limitation of military activities in the area in 1977-78.

He said the Soviet Union had been compelled to build up its forces in the area to counter the build-up of American and Allied forces.

"The Soviet Union certainly cannot ignore this real threat from the southern direction and is compelled to take counter measures," Vice-Admiral Komarov said.

When asked about the deployment of aircraft carriers he said the Soviet Navy had no such vessels.

"We build air-capable cruisers and these up-to-date ships are commissioned, as a rule, to replace those that have served their service period," Vice-Admiral Komarov said.

Komarov Remarks 'Debunked'

BK041315 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 30 Mar 88 p 16

[Article by Roger Foley, defense reporter]

[Excerpts] Soviet claims about the level of their military activity in the Pacific do not stand scrutiny, according to information made available to the POST.

The Soviet first deputy chief of naval operations Vice-Admiral Dmitriy Komarov told the POST last week that the Soviet Union did not have troops or a military base in Vietnam.

He also said the Soviet Union was a confirmed opponent of foreign bases, that the Soviet Navy's functions were based on a defensive military doctrine, that it had reduced the number of missile-carrying submarines in the Pacific, that it did not possess aircraft carriers and that Soviet fishing boats could not carry out intelligence gathering as they did not have "special equipment".

Vice-Admiral Komarov had invited the POST and other South Pacific media to put questions to him via the Soviet news agency NOVOSTI.

An outline of the answers published in the POST last week has concerned a number of people involved in defence and foreign affairs.

Vice-Admiral Komarov's claim that the Soviet Union is a "confirmed opponent" to foreign bases and that it has no troops nor a base in Vietnam is wrong, according to material freely available to Western defence analysts. The Soviet Union has several bases on foreign soil, including Aden, (Southern Yemen) and Vietnam.

Vice-Admiral Komarov had told the POST that Cam Ranh Bay was a temporary facility operated by agreement with the Government of Vietnam and used to replenish ships with fuel, food and water, to do minor repairs and to provide rest facilities for personnel.

He said there were no Soviet-owned installations at Cam Ranh Bay, that the port was guarded by the Vietnamese and the number of calls by Soviet ships was decreasing.

"I would like to emphasise that the USSR did not and does not have intentions to turn the logistic point at Cam Ranh Bay into a military or naval base." [passage omitted]

Wellington defence analysts say it is difficult to gauge Vice-Admiral Komarov's statement that Soviet naval calls to Vietnam are decreasing without a time scale being given.

Recent developments pointed to the reverse, however.

The assurance that there are no Soviet-owned installations at Cam Ranh Bay nor "leased territory" ignores the fact that the Soviets have a very large defence investment in Vietnam, particularly at Cam Ranh Bay.

Vice-Admiral Komarov's statement that the Soviet Union does nothing beyond what is needed for reliable defence in the Pacific is seen as subjective by Western defence analysts.

The question begs "what is enough," and the Soviets are seen as having a much greater military force in the Pacific than required for the "reliable defence" of their assets. [passage omitted]

Vice-Admiral Komarov's claim that the Soviet Union does not possess aircraft carriers has been disputed. The Soviets have a Kiev-class ship which supports a large number of helicopters and vertical lift Forger aircraft.

In December 1985 the Soviets also launched a massive new carrier which when fitted out is expected to displace about 65,000 metric tons and be 300m long.

The claim that Soviet fishing boats are not involved in gathering intelligence data because they have "no special equipment" has also been debunked.

Defence analysts say the boats collect data ranging from reports of naval vessels to port facilities and that this activity goes on in the South Pacific.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Talks 'Friendly, Businesslike'

PM051157 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS Report under the general heading "Talks Have Begun"]

[Text] Specific talks, arising from the coordinated political line announced in the statements by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Najibullah of 8 February 1988, were discussed at today's [4 April] round of talks between E.A. Shevardnadze and Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, and members of the Afghan leadership.

The sides reaffirmed that the planned program of action would be implemented irrespective of the final shape of the situation at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. If the Geneva process fails to be concluded by the signing of relevant agreements, the USSR and Afghanistan will act in a manner dictated to them by their national interests.

There took place a thorough exchange of views on the state and prospects of Soviet-Afghan relations. It was noted that cooperation and ties in most diverse fields were steadily developing and becoming richer in the conditions of a closer interaction and complete mutual understanding.

Having analyzed the new forms of trade, economic, and cultural ties, the participants in the talks noted that the establishment of direct ties between the USSR's republics, oblasts, and towns and Afghanistan's provinces substantially expanded the sphere of cooperation and was yielding positive results. Acting in an enterprising and creative way, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Georgia, and also Moscow were extending great and varied help. At the same time, the contribution of some other republics could be bigger.

The necessity of improving further the direct ties, setting up joint enterprises on their basis, and developing the economy and social infrastructure of Afghan provinces was emphasized.

The sides discussed and agreed on additional measures which are to give an even greater momentum to trade and coordination, to expand cooperation between Soviet organizations and representatives of private Afghan capital.

The Soviet side agreed to examine favorably the issue of setting up an academic townlet in the Republic of Afghanistan and of implementing other projects in the sphere of science and culture.

The talks were conducted in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere. Taking part in them, on the Afghan side, were: S.'A. Keshtmand, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan; S.M. Ziray, secretary of the PDPA Central Committee; Ministers S.M. Gulabzoy, S. La'eq, M. Rafi, and G.F. Ya'qubi; and S. Tani, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Afghan Parliamentary Elections Begin

LD051115 Moscow TASS in English 0553 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 5 TASS—Elections to the National Council (Parliament) began in Afghanistan today, keynoted by the slogan "Peace and Security Through the National Reconciliation Policy."

The National Council will consist of two houses—the lower one, the Volosi Jirgah [People's Assembly] which will have 230 seats, and the upper one, the Senate.

The latter will have 62 members elected by direct and secret ballot, another 62 elected at sessions of the provincial councils and yet another 62 appointed by the president.

The eligible voters include all Afghan citizens over 18, regardless of their sex, nationality, religion and property status.

The elections are to end April 15.

Former Afghan Rebels Discuss Reconciliation

LD011507 Moscow TASS in English 1411 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 1 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Georgiy Shmelyev:

The national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has created conditions for the return of Afghan refugees home. Some of those who stayed away from their homeland for a long time, who fought arms in hand against their people addressed a meeting with the participants in the international conference held here on the role of public in settling regional conflicts, which was co-sponsored by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) and Afghanistan's Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation. The consequences of the bloody fratricidal war which was kindled in every way possible by regional reaction, the Western imperialist countries, and the program for a peaceful settlement proposed by the government have convinced these Afghans, who were once in opposition to the current regime, that the fight against their own people was senseless and served no useful purpose.

I have returned home from the USA because I confide in the national reconciliation policy announced by the Government of Afghanistan, said Tariq Na'el, yet far from all have so far followed my example. There are many causes behind that: some people do not yet understand the essence of the national reconciliation policy, others fear that in real fact things will not go the way as was promised. But the main cause behind that is the work of American propaganda, which pictures this policy in a distorted light. I will write to my friends, who stayed back in foreign lands, how things really stand in Afghanistan. I have already been enrolled to Kabul University as a student of literature.

I went to Pakistan after the April Revolution of 1978, said Pahlavan Aman from Fariab Province. We were told that Islam was in danger. I was in command of a 350-man strong detachment. We destroyed bridges and blew up schools, operating in the north, in the area of the border with the USSR. Instruction was done by Pakistani, U.S. and French military specialists. When word came about the national reconcliation policy announced by the government, I returned home. Only now I began to understand how wrong I was. I wish to address those who so far stay in the desert, in the mountains, those who are waging a war: Brothers, come back home, it is senseless to fight on killing each other for those who benefit at the expense of the people. My greatest wish is that the national reconciliation policy be successfully implemented.

Afghanistan, CEMA Sign Economic Protocol

LD021531 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 2 TASS—The protocol of the first meeting of the CMEA Commission on Cooperation With Afghanistan was signed here today. The big importance of economic cooperation between CMEA countries and Afghanistan was stressed during the meeting and note was also made of the common striving to further expand economic ties both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. Concrete objects and fields of cooperation between the CMEA and Afghanistan were defined. The commission approved the order of its work and the work of its bodies, as well as a plan of its activities in 1988-1989.

"The signing of the protocol is an important event, a new page in the history of the development of relations between our countries", said deputy prime minister, Chairman of Afghanistan's State Planning Committee Mahbullah Koshani after the signing. "We are confident that the assistance of CMEA countries will be of decisive importance for our economy's accelerated development. The foundation laid by the commission on cooperation will serve as a firm and reliable basis for our multilateral relations".

Contracts Concluded With Afghan Cooperatives

LD311538 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—An agreement on cooperation between the Central Union of Consumer Societies of the USSR (Centrosoyuz) and the Union of Farmers' Cooperatives of Afghanistan provides for assistance in developing facilities of Afghan cooperatives, training national personnel and expanding trade links in 1988-1990.

Soviet and Afghan cooperators have been working together for about 10 years and their reciprocal deliveries grow constantly.

For instance, the contracts they concluded for 1987-1988 are worth a total of 55 million dollars.

About 200 Afghan specialists underwent training in the Soviet Union.

Border trade is developing. Cooperators in the Soviet republics of Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan send to Afghanistan household goods, clothes and shoes.

They buy in Afghanistan leather, dried fruits, wool and nuts. It was agreed during the recent visit of a delegation from the Union of Farmers' Cooperatives of Afghanistan to step up bilateral border trade and start direct goods exchanges between cooperative societies.

Centrosoyuz will also render assistance in building and fitting out with special refrigerating equipment a wholesale depot in Kabul intended for the storage of raw materials and consumer goods.

The partners will continue exchanging delegations, scientific and technological information and materials on the latest achievements in the field of cooperative activity.

Hijacking of Kuwaiti Airliner Reported

LD050904 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] London April 5 TASS—Terrorists of an unidentified nationality hijacked the airliner, Boeing 747, of the Kuwait Airways airline with 96 passengers and 18-men crew on a flight from Bangkok to Kuwait.

Some time after the seizure the airliner landed at Mashhad airport in north-eastern Iran after the pilot radioed to the ground that he was running out of fuel, REUTER news agency reported. The hijackers demanded from the Iranian authorities an immediate refuelling so that the airliner could continue the flight. They threatened to blow up the plane if an attempt was made to free the passengers.

U.S. Mideast Plan Proposes 'Partial Measures'

LD041803 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz started another tour of a number of Middle Eastern countries which will take him to Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia. The Arab press emphasizes that the main aim of the trip by the head of the U.S. foreign policy department is to get the approval for a meagre "peace" plan drafted by Washington, the plan that infringes on the interests of Arab countries to suit Tel Aviv. The U.S. "initiative" ignores the problems of vital importance for Arabs—the destiny of East Jerusalem and participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the peace process, guarantees for the restoration of the lawful national rights of the Palestinian people.

Mass protests of the Palestinian population in Israel-occupied territories, barbarous methods of suppressing protests, a number of international initiatives to settle the crisis in the Middle East attracted the attention of the world public to the Middle Eastern region and pose acutely the question of the need to settle the Arab-Israeli crisis. It can be said that the "moment of truth" has come, that the time has come for all the parties involved in the conflict to accept the responsibility for the destiny of the settlement. What takes place in the Middle East emphasizes the importance of an undelayed involvement of the world community to implement measures for cardinal improvement of the situation in the region.

The form of the settlement on which Washington insists, the partial measures it proposes cannot be described as an optimum recipe. Any initiatives on the Middle East should be judged by the measure in which they promote the achievement of an equitable solution by balancing the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict. And this is precisely this fundamental aspect that is lacking in the scheme proposed by Americans. It places the emphasis on intermediate steps, to which the USSR has no fundamental objections. But, as it is clear to many now, such steps can yield a positive result only in the context of a comprehensive settlement. The Soviet Union is convinced that a full-fledged international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people is the main way to achieve these aims.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Continues UAE Visit

Meets With President

LD021512 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Abu Dhabi April 2 TASS—The president of the United Arab Emirates Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al Nuhayyan received today a special mission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR now on a tour of Persian Gulf countries.

The head of the special mission, Vice President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Georgiy Tarazevich conveyed to the UAE president best wishes from the President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko. In the course of the detailed conversation that followed the sides dealt with the key issues of the present international situation, the situation in the region and the development of relations between the two countries.

The UAE president confirmed his country's policy of strengthening mutual trust and friendship with the Soviet Union. In the world which is full of dangers it is necessary to strive for a strengthening of friendly relations between peoples, he said. The world today needs good deeds because only good seeds produce good crops. The main thing, he said, is that our countries mutually respect each other and this creates a reliable basis for further developing bilateral ties in various fields.

The meeting was attended by members of the special mission—deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR First Secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of Tajikistan Muminsho Kanoatov and the TASS Director General Sergey Losev, as well as the USSR ambassador in the UAE Felix Fedotov.

On the same day the Soviet members of parliament had an exchange of views with members of the UAE Federal National Council headed by the first deputy chairman of the council 'Abdallah Muhayribi. During the conversation the interlocutors noted the similarity of the viewpoints and approaches of the two countries as regards many international problems. The interdependence of the world today and the pressing need to establish universal peace and security in the world was stressed. Both sides expressed the view that vigorous trade and economic relations form a firm material base for developing friendship and cooperation between states in the political field.

The absence of a solution to the Middle East problem and the continuing Iran-Iraq war, it was said at the meeting, cause concern not only in countries of the region but also in other countries. The importance of a peaceful political dialogue directed at solving these conflict situations was stressed. The Middle East settlement should be based on principles of equality and justice and take into account the national rights of the Palestinian people and should not be based on the new variants of capitulatory agreements that the United States are imposing on the Arabs. The UAE, said the members of Parliament of that country, is fulfilling the assignment of the council for cooperation of Arab Persian Gulf states to conduct consultations with Iran with the aim of putting it a peace with Iraq but these mediation efforts have not yet produced constructive results.

The members of the special mission of the USSR Supreme Soviet told the UAE members of Parliament about the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the expansion of socialist democracy and the acceleration of the country's socio-economic development. The sides exchanged information on the structure and activity of the supreme bodies of state power of the two countries.

Criticizes Shultz Plan

LD041944 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From the "Window on the Arab World" program, presented by Aleksandr Timoshkin]

[Text] A special delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is touring some Gulf countries. Its first stop was the UAE. The Soviet group was received by President Zayid ibn al Nuhayyan, Heir Apparent Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayid, members of the UAE parliament, and senior state officials. They stressed to their Soviet guests their desire to promote by all means relations of friendship and (?respect) between the two states.

During the talks held in the UAE the similarity of the two countries' views and stands regarding many international issues was pointed out. UAE and USSR state officials paid special attention to issues of resolving the conflict in the Middle East and the Iran-Iraq conflict. It was pointed out that it is necessary to consider the interests and security of the parties involved in the Middle East conflict, especially the Palestinian people's national rights. UAE and USSR state officials expressed their negative stand concerning Washington's attempts to impose new forms of submissive agreements on Arabs.

What is meant by this is the so-called Shultz plan, which stipulates using the international conference on the Middle East as merely an umbrella for unilateral Israeli-Arab talks, meanwhile ignoring fundamental elements of a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, such as granting the Palestinian people their right to establish an independent state in their homeland, and liberating all Arab territories occupied since June 1967. Consequently, the Shultz plan cannot under any circumstances be called a peaceful one, because it aims primarily at firmly establishing the consequences of Israeli crimes against Arabs, and consolidating and extending the U.S. imperialist position in the Middle East.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium special delegation's tour will include the Sultanate of Oman and the State of Kuwait. This is the first Soviet delegation of its kind in the Gulf region.

Kamentsev Receives Egyptian Official

LD011907 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received today the Egyptian minister of housing, utilities and urban complexes, Hasaballah Muhammad al-Kafrawi, in [words indistinct] attend an exhibition of Egyptian goods in Moscow.

In the conversation held in a friendly atmopshere, the sides discussed (?the present) state and prospects of promoting Soviet-Egyptian trade and economic cooperation.

Salah al-Din Hasan Basyuni, Egypt's ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Syrian Prime Minister Receives Tabeyev

LD031841 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1318 GMT 3 Apr 88

[Text] Damascus, 3 Apr (TASS)—Mahmud al-Zu'bi, prime minister of Syria, today received Fikryat Tabeyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR-Syria Friendship Society Board, who is here on a working visit.

During the conversation which passed in a spirit of friendship, sincerity and mutual understanding, there was an exchange of views with regard to the prospects for the development of Soviet-Syrian cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, scientific and other spheres.

The Syrian Government head appraised highly the major socioeconomic programs being implemented in the Soviet Union and the drive for democratization in all spheres of Soviet society activity. After noting the great international significance of the restructuring process he expressed lively interest in the practice and experience of solving these issues.

M. al-Zu'bi stressed in particular that the Soviet leadership's drive for disarmament and to eliminate nuclear and other types of weapon of mass destruction correspond to the interests of all the peoples of the world.

After familiarizing the Soviet guest with the course of economic, social and cultural development of the SAR [Syrian Arab Republic], M. al-Zu'bi gave a lofty appraisal of the Soviet Union's aid and assistance to Syria in various spheres as well as of Soviet support for the Arab peoples' struggle for their rights.

Fikryat Tabeyev recounted practical steps in restructuring Soviet society and stressed that the strengthening and development of relations between the two friendly countries serves the good of the peoples of both countries. He familiarized the SAR Government head with the diverse activity of the USSR-Syria Friendship Society, which is the embodiment, in practical terms, of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between our countries, and of the fruitful results of the visit to Moscow by Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, which took place in April last year.

PLO Official Hails Soviet Afghan Stance

LD041658 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In putting forward deliberately unacceptable conditions at the Geneva talks on settlement of the situation involving Afghanistan, Islamabad is endeavoring to undermine the process of solving this complex regional problem. [video shows caption "TASS Reports"] In this connection, particular significance accrues to the consistent, peace-loving initiatives of the Soviet Union. Here is Sulayman al-Najjab, member of the PLO Executive Committee:

[Begin Al-Najjab recording in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation] The position held by the Soviet Government creates all conditions necessary for solving the Afghan problem since it corresponds to the interests of those who desire peace and at the same time puts a barrier in the path of those who would like conflict in the region to continue. The leadership of the PLO and the Palestinian people as a whole are following the current development of events in Afghanistan with great attention and interest, since normalization of the situation in that country could serve as an example for dealing with crisis situations in other regions of the world, including the Near East. [end recording]

Academician Praises 'Courage' of Israel's Vanunu

LD010934 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—"The action by Mordechai Vanunu who made public facts of Israel's nuclear preparations, is an example of lofty civil responsibility, courage and sacrifice in the interests of averting a nuclear war and stopping the arms race," Academician Oleg Nefedov, deputy chairman of the Executive Council of the World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW), told the newspaper "TRUD".

"The emergence in the world of new nuclear powers," he went on to say, "would surely make more difficult the already complicated process of nuclear disarmament. Therefore, any trustworthy information of scientists, technicians and engineers concerning secret development of nuclear weapons in Israel, South Africa and some other non-nuclear countries helps step up the campaign of progressives all over the globe, including scientists, for a nuclear-free world, for mankind's survival."

The academician expressed the opinion that "the harsh and stiff response of the Israeli Government to the courageous action by Mordechai Vanunu is actually attributed to the fact that he made public information fully conforming to hard facts. Thus, he let the cat out of the bag".

He said that the WFSW "should stand out in defence of M. Vanunu in an attempt to change the verdict passed on this noble man who acted, as he said at the trial, in conformity with the call of his conscience".

Soviet Commander on Gulf Affairs Interviewed

JN311313 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 29 Mar 88 p 29

[Interview with General Valeriy Sergeyev, commander of Soviet naval forces in the Gulf, by Salam Musafir in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Musafir] How would you describe the situation in the Gulf region, and what is your main impression of the situation?

[Sergeyev] The situation is very difficult and tense, and I am sorry to say that I do not see a solution in the near future. The tankers' war, which started in 1984, has caused huge human and material losses and the sad losses of both the Iraqi and Iranian peoples. The war endangered the interests of the region's states. The presence of a large number of foreign military ships in the Gulf increases the volatility of the situation and I, as a military man, think that such numbers are not necessary. The presence of these ships made the sailors and fishermen nervous, and more dangerously, they contaminated the Gulf waters with the most hazardous substances to the surrounding environment. It is difficult to tell the future consequences of this contamination.

[Musafir] What are the factors that prompted your country to send military ships to the region?

[Sergeyev] After one of our tankers was subjected to an accident in the Gulf more than 1 year ago, we found it necessary to send four military ships, including two minesweepers, because the Gulf waters were filled with mines, particularly in the north and the south. Our military ships move in international waters and we do not approach territorial waters or shores. Our ships and tankers are supplied with fuel and other necessary items from a special ship anchored in the north, and occasionally we obtain supplies from port in countries with which we have relations. [passage omitted]

[Musafir] How would you react if Kuwaiti ports were subjected to another Iranian attack?

[Sergeyev] Do you have information that Iran is going to attack? Our military ships, and I want to make this very clear, came to the region for a specific task and objective; that is, to provide protection for Soviet tankers in international shipping routes. We respect international law, and we do not want to enter the territorial waters of any of the Gulf's states. The number of our ships is limited and are fewer than those of other states.

[Musafir] Do you intend to increase their number?

[Sergeyev] No, not at all, because there is no need for this large number of foreign troops, especially U.S. ships. If the United States so desired, they could make do with only four ships. This figure is more than enough to provide protection for the tankers. In our opinion this large presence is a source of danger in itself.

[Musafir] Has there been any kind of confrontation between you and the U.S. military ships?

[Sergeyev] No, this has never happened because there was an agreement signed with the United State in 1972 during the Nixon administration. This agreement states the need to avoid any confrontation in the air or at sea, and the two sides adhere to its points. A similar agreement was signed in 1986 with Britain. The reason for such an agreement is that our ships and those of the United States are present together almost everywhere. Agreements of this kind form a safety valve against any fabricated confrontation and help to avoid a regrettable incident. [passage omitted]

[Musafir] How do you appraise the level of cooperation with Kuwait?

[Sergeyev] We are very happy and satisfied to cooperate with Kuwait. I, as a sailor and as a military man, understand Kuwait's legitimate concern and worry regarding the war, which is underway near its borders and territorial waters and which sometimes reaches Kuwait itself. Kuwait is the country closest to the warfront, and I understand Kuwait's concern because it is a nonaligned country and has chosen to be nonaligned after a long struggle. Kuwait and the other states in the region have a right to live in peace and security and to live their lives in tranquility. When the Soviet Government made its decision to escort and protect the tankers, it took into account the independence and sovereignty of Kuwait. Economic and trade cooperation between states, no matter what their systems are, help to build bridges of strong friendships, and this is what is happening with Kuwait. I hope all of our ships will leave the Gulf region very soon, not because we have become bored or we do not like the waters, on the contrary, but because the presence of foreign troops creates tension. I hope the reasons for which our military ships came to the Gulf will soon disappear. This means the Iraq-Iran war, which we are witnessing at close range,and its tragic and significant harm to both countries and the states in the region, must stop. We hope we will be able to pay friendly visits to your shores in the future, just as we did in peace times in the past. I am pleased to admit to you a wish, and that is to be able, together with my colleagues, to visit the ports of the Palestinian state, which must be created. This heroic people must have their state and live in peace and love.

Iranian CP Member Deplores War Prolongation

NC021158 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT1 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Termination of the Iran-Iraq war occupied an important place on the agenda of the international conference for the solution of regional conflicts in Kabul. We draw your attention to remarks by Dr 'Aziz, a prominent Iranian sociopolitical figure:

[Begin recordng] In this conference, whose theme was the role of social and nongovernment organizations in resolving regional conflicts, you must have observed that nearly all representatives were from nongovernment organizations of democratic countries. They delivered speeches at sessions, speaking of the Iran-Iraq war and the danger its prolongation poses for the peace and security of the region and the world.

In my statement, as representative of the Iranian Tudeh party at the conference, I referred to the losses, casualties, and dangerous repercussions of this conflict. The continuation of this U.S.-instigated war and the escalation of tension in the Persian Gulf are solely to the benefit of imperialism and reactionaries, as are all other local and regional conflicts. Using this hotbed of tension, the imperialists have not only expanded their military bases all over the world—we saw how they brought forces to the Persian Gulf and set up a central command—they have also imposed an obsessive arms race on the feeble economies of Third World countries.

I pointed out in my statement that only a few days ago we heard that Saudi Arabia has purchased modern missiles with a range of 3,500 km whose warheads can be substituted with nuclear ones. Even though the war-seeking leaders of the Islamic Republic endeavor to downplay this important and dire issue as insignificant, the danger of such a nuclear trend in the region is serious when viewed in the light of the possible spread of the war to all other countries. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Dobrynin Receives Indian Foreign Minister

LD041653 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met today Natwar Singh, Indian minister of state for external affairs, staying in the Soviet Union on a working visit.

During the talk the sides discussed pressing problems of the present-day international situation, questions of Soviet-Indian cooperation and the development of relations between the CPSU and the INC (I) [Indian National Congress].

At the request of Natwar Singh, Anatoliy Dobrynin described the progress with perestroyka in the USSR and the preparation for the 19th all-union party conference.

The talk held in a warm and friendly atmosphere was attended by Tikoli Nath Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

East Europe

Shevardnadze Meets With Sofia Embassy Staff

PM011215 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Session Over"]

[Text] Sofia, 30 Mar—E.A. Shevardnadze met with the aktiv of Soviet establishments at the USSR Embassy in Bulgaria.

A substantial, interested conversation was held on the further intensification and development of relations between the fraternal countries. The work underway here to introduce new forms of cooperation under conditions of restructuring and factors impeding their development and establishment were particularly thoroughly analyzed. The minister stressed the need for in-depth analysis of all phenomena slowing down further progress in this most important sphere and made a number of recommendations on how to overcome them.

SFRY Body Assesses Results of Gorbachev Visit

LD042126 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade April 4 TASS—An official friendly visit of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to Yugoslavia was successful and mutually beneficial. Its results are a good basis for the development of relations between the USSR and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, between the CPSU and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia on the principles of equality, mutual respect and noninterference in internal affairs. This was noted at a joint meeting of the Foreign Policy Committee and the Committee on Economic Relations with Foreign Countries of Yugoslavia's Federal Assembly.

It was emphasized that the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration signed during the visit is a political document of extreme importance not only for the two countries. It also has broad international importance. The meeting also noted the importance of the long-term programme of economic cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia for the period through the year 2000 and other documents.

MSZMP Conference Drafts Document on Activity

PM011221 Moscow SELAKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Apr 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Draft Resolution"]

[Text] Budapest, 31 Mar—The socialist social system has firm foundations in Hungary. In implementing its leading role in society, the MSZMP relies on creative, Marxist, scientific analysis of reality in its activity. This is indicated in the draft resolution for the national party conference, scheduled for 20 May this year, and published today in NEPSZABADSAG.

The document analyzes the role of the party and communists in the process of socialist building.

The draft says that public glasnost is an important condition for developing socialist democracy in Hungary.

The draft resolution points out that a resolution of the 13th MSZMP March (1985) Congress enshrined the party's political course. The results of the ensuing 3 years illustrate that the planned aims were not totally well-founded. The economic situation in the country has not improved, Hungary's debt in convertible currency has increased, inflation is rising, and the population's standard of living is falling. With this in view, a program for the country's socioeconomic development and a government program for socioeconomic stabilization have been elaborated and adopted. As a result some improvement in the situation can be seen, industrial production is increasing at rapid rates, and the results of export activity have improved. However, the necessary turnaround has still not been effected. The conditions for implementing the plan can only be created by reinforcing the party's leading role, improving the activity of state, economic, and public organs, and mobilizing all Hungarian society.

Bratislava Dean Interviewed on Slovak Rally

PM050951 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Apr 88 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by NOVOSTI own correspondent A. Kuranov under the "From Foreign 'Voice'" rubric: "Act of Provocation With Candles"—first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The evening in Bratislava was cold and rainy. Thousands of people filled the city. Some were rushing home after work; others were shopping for their days off. Few of them were hanging around for long on the damp, bleak streets. One could understand, therefore, the surprise with which passers-by and tram passengers looked at the groups of people gathered on Hviezdoslava Square in the very center of the Slovak capital, a NOVOSTI own correspondent writes to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

At exactly 1800, as the hour was striking on the town hall tower, these 500-600 people lit candles and, carefully shielding them under umbrellas, advanced to the Slovak National Theater building. Here they tried to organize a meeting, which eventually developed into a series of individual cries about how believers in their country are persecuted, threats against the militia workers, and provocative statements.

An hour later there appeared on my television screen at home a photograph of Vienna television commentator Otto Hermann. His voice-over announced in tragic tones that your special correspondent, dear viewers, is halfway to the Austrian capital (60 km from Bratislava) to show scenes of the Czechoslovak authorities' reprisals against the Catholics fighting for their flouted rights. At the same time VOA, RFE, and other Western radio stations issued emergency reports on this event.

Some 2 hours later the Vienna television nighttime news program showed a 3-minute feature from Bratislava with rain, umbrellas, and people's backs.

The next day these pictures were brought out again, but this time the role of commentator was assumed by the daughter of one of the richest people in bourgeois Czechoslovakia who has lived in Austria for the past 4 decades—Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi. It turns out that the previous evening she, too, had been on Bratislava's rainy sidewalks and had "only escaped the authorities' repressions by a miracle."

What really happened in the Slovak capital? If it was indeed a case of a demonstration by Catholics, who should be better informed about its aims than a representative of the local clergy?

So I put my questions to Stefan Zarecky, dean of Bratislava, a man who is well known and respected in Czechoslovakia.

And so we are sitting in his apartment. While my host is pouring coffee, I read the titles on the backs of the books on the nearby shelves. Old church publications are next to philosophical essays, books on history and art, and biographies of outstanding people of the past and present.

Outside the window it is raining again, and our talk turns naturally to the events of Friday, 25 March.

"If we are recalling that evening," the dean of Bratislava says, "we must begin the story back on 16 March. That was when the rally of Slovak ordinands [ordinariyev] was in session. At the session, we all learned with surprise of reports from a number of foreign radio stations about the 'peaceful demonstration' of Slovak Catholics which was allegedly being prepared. Not only had none of us taken part in its preparation, but we did not even know who was organizing the demonstration and who intended to go out onto the city streets.

"By the time the organizers had asked for permission to hold their demonstration in one of the Bratislava people's favorite spots—Hviezdoslava Square—the foreign radio voices had already repeatedly discussed both the number of participants and its possible results. In their opinion, it was a case of 90,000-100,000 people.

"If we turn to Canon 216 of the church code of laws, we can see that it prescribes very precisely and specifically to all ministers that neither they nor, even more especially, any civilians, can organize or hold any meetings of believers without the approval of the relevant church organs. In this case, not only was our consent not requested, but some people tried to act on behalf of the believers and to lead them without even informing us.

"On this basis the rally of ordinands [ordinariyev] of Slovakia adopted a negative position with regard to the action being prepared. For the same reasons, it was not authorized by the city authorities either.

"Therefore, it was clear from the outset that the demonstration's organizers were political adventurists trying to use believers' feelings for their own unseemly purposes.

"They state—and, unfortunately, some foreign radio stations are broadcasting these statements very widely—that they act on behalf of the Catholics. No, these people's actions are in fact at variance with the thoughts and deeds of believers and are trying to disorganize normal church life.

"All of us, atheists and believers, have many concerns, and most of them are in common. The second millenium is coming to an end, and there are still so many underprivileged, hungry, sick people in the world. One great calamity hovers over us all—the specter of nuclear war.

"To avert it and to deal with the other problems, we must pool the efforts of all people of the world, the efforts of each person irrespective of his nationality, religion, or political persuasion. Then we will enter the new millenium as the cohesive and powerful crew of a single ship called 'The Earth.'"

Lushev, Nechayev at East Berlin Sports Forum

PM050909 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Apr 88 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Colonel A. Vasilets report: "Jubilee Session of Friendly Armies' Sports Committee"]

[Text] A session of the Friendly Armies' Sports Committee has taken place in Berlin devoted to the 30th anniversary of its formation. Army General H. Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, and the first deputy defense ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states took part in the session.

Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister, and Colonel General V. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, took part in the session on the Soviet side.

It was noted in the reports of Colonel General H. Bruenner, chief of the GDR National People's Army Main Political Directorate, and Major General A. Raspopov, chairman of the Friendly Armies' Sports Committee, that the 30 years since the Friendly Armies' Sports Committee was founded has been marked by many successes by the military sportsmen.

After the session Army General P. Lushev and Colonel General V. Nechayev visited the Army base of the "Vorwaerts" Sports Committee, attended training sessions of the GDR Army sportsmen, and met with candidates for the GDR Olympic team.

In conversation with the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Army General P. Lushev shared his impressions on the work of the Friendly Armies' Sports Committee. He noted that the session's participants took an active part in discussing urgent problems in today's sports, expressed many interesting thoughts, and adopted a concluding document which contains several promising proposals.

A reception took place in the GDR Ministry of National Defense in honor of the chiefs of the friendly armies' delegations.

West Europe

Zaykov-Led Delegation Departs for Finland

LD041942 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU City Committee, today left Moscow for Helsinki.

The delegation will attend celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance.

Seen Off by Slyunkov, Others

LD042131 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] At the station, the delegation was seen off by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Saykin, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee; and other officials. Among those seeing him off was Karhilo, Finland's ambassador to the USSR.

Welcomed at Helsinki

LD051120 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Helsinki April 5 TASS—The delegation of the Soviet Union headed by Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, arrived here today from Moscow. It will attend the activities to mark the 40th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and Finland.

At the railway terminal of the Finnish capital decked with the state flags of the two countries the delegation was met by Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri and other officials.

FRG's Brandt, Delegation Arrive in Moscow

Greeted by Dobrynin, Zagladin

LD041544 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—Today Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], arrived in Moscow. He is accompanied by Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium, and Johannes Pronk, deputy chairman of the Netherlands Labour Party.

At the airport he was welcomed by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vadim Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and other senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

Makes No Airport Statement

LD041549 Hamburg DPA in German 1432 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Willy Brandt, Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] honorary chairman and president of the Socialist International, arrived in Moscow on Monday for a visit that is to last several days. Brandt's visit is at the invitation of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, whom he intends to meet Tuesday morning for an exchange of views.

Brandt was greeted at the Sheremetevo-2 Airport near Moscow by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the Central Committee responsible for foreign affairs. He made no statement. Brandt was accompanied by the SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr and Netherlander socialist Jan Pronk, who is counted as an expert on North-South problems.

Questions of arms limitation, East-West relations and the North-South relationship are due to be at the center of discussion. Brandt met Gorbachev in 1985 when he first took office and was among the first Western politicians to do so.

Recently Brandt declared that Gorbachev does not have it easy trying to implement his reform program. The Soviet leader recently came under pressure, above all because of the unrest in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

'Warmly' Received by Gorbachev

LD050833 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev, has begun talks in the Kremlin with Willy Brandt, a prominent West German politician, who is the leader of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Willy Brandt arrived in Moscow yesterday.

Our correspondent reports from the Kremlin that Mikhail Gorbachev warmly welcomed Mr Brandt. Many events have taken place in the 3 years that passed since their previous meeting, he said, and so they have much to discuss. We will bring you more news on their talks as it comes in.

To Meet Gromyko, Sakharov

LD050829 Hamburg DPA in German 0750 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and president of the Socialist International, was received by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on Tuesday morning. Brandt, who was invited personally by Gorbachev, was accompanied to the exchange of views in the Kremlin, which was expected to last several hours, by SPD Presidium member Egon Bahr and Dutch Socialist and expert on North-South affairs Jan Pronk. The politicians arrived in Moscow on Monday evening.

Brandt will meet with Soviet head of state Andrey Gromyko on Wednesday. Afterward, he will have a first meeting with Soviet civil rights campaigner Andrey Sakharov who, like Brandt, is a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. Brandt will give an international news conference in Moscow on Wednesday.

The talks with the Soviet leadership will focus on the issues of arms control, East-West dialogue, and the relationship between industrialized and developing countries. Cooperation with European socialists probably will be discussed as well. Gorbachev, during a recent exchange of views with Alessandro Natta, leader of the Italian Communist Party, proposed a "roundtable" discussion of all European political groupings.

The meeting in the Catherine Hall of the Kremlin also was attended by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the Central Committee responsible for foreign affairs, and Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the International Department of the Central Committee. Welcoming Brandt, Gorabchev said: "I am glad to see you." He also referred to his first meeting as general secretary with Brandt, which took place in 1985, immediately after Gorbachev assumed office.

New Magazine Carries Interview With FRG's Bahr

LD041744 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—People in Western countries no longer feel a threat on the part of the Soviet Union, a prominent West German politician said in a TASS interview.

Egon Bahr, chairman of the disarmament and arms control subcommission of the Bundestag, gave an interview to a new Soviet magazine, "Echo of the Planet".

The interview was published in the magazine's first issue.

The magazine, issued jointly by the Soviet news agency TASS and the Union of Journalists of the USSR, deals with topical issues of international affairs.

It will publish stories by TASS correspondents and international news analysts of other mass media, both Soviet and foreign, and carry interviews with prominent political and public figures, scientists and workers in culture.

The magazine, although brought out under TASS auspices, does not reflect the official viewpoint.

Answering the magazine's questions about the reasons for the publication of his book "Toward European Peace. A Reply to Gorbachev", Bahr said:

"For decades we complained about the Warsaw Treaty's superiority in conventional armaments, without advancing any proposals to solve the problem, though.

"It was only after Mikhail Gorbachev made such proposals that we started to think about it. Besides, many people in the West are concerned about how perestroyka in the USSR will tell on security problems."

Bahr described old ways of thinking as the major obstacle to a nuclear-free Europe and said such thinking was typical of West Germans, too. Most of them, he said continued to believe that nuclear weapons helped to ensure security and prevent a nuclear war.

Such a viewpoint is wrong, the West German politician said. Following this logic, nuclear weapons, if given to Iran and Iraq, would immediately bring about peace in their relations.

To overcome the old mentality, one should eradicate fear that the elimination of nuclear weapons will again make possible a nuclear war, Bahr continued.

This means that a situation must be created under which a conventional war would also be impossible. One should work out, as soon as possible, criteria and principles for achieving stability in the field of these armaments, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

'Spy Mania' in FRG 'Much Ado About Nothing'
LD312028 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Correspondent Aleksandr Kurilin report from Bonn]

[Text] Radio and television services and newspaper front pages are reporting that a supposedly decisive blow has been dealt to the Soviet network of agents on the territory of the FRG. Such a fuss has been kicked up that the populace is quite simply shocked by what has happened. It is, therefore, quite natural that there should have been a great deal of curiosity the other day about what FRG Federal Solicitor-General Rebmann was to say in an official statement intended, as it is termed, to illuminate the press and public on the subject of the latest events. One should point out right away that anyone expecting sensational revelations from Rebmann would have been disappointed. Although he cited a number of incidents which, according to him, gave grounds for intervention by the authorities and special services, he nevertheless stressed that an investigation into the majority of these is still continuing, and one cannot at present say definitely what the outcome of it will be.

In short, another case of much ado about nothing. But all the same, who needed the current spy-mania campaign in the FRG, and why did official Bonn start it rolling precisely now? The main reason, perhaps, is that there are still very influential forces in the FRG who find any improvement in Soviet-West German mutual relations distasteful. Evidence of this is the very fact that the whole fuss started here immediately after PRAVDA published an article noting that dialogue between the Soviet Union and FRG is expanding, and that this testifies to new moods and a new political thinking on the banks of the Rhine. To all appearances, such an appraisal by the Soviet side gave rise to grave displeasure and the reaction, as the saying goes, swiftly followed.

That is most probably the main reason. But there are others, too. In this connection, it is hard to disagree with (Hubert Reichen), a well-known West German publicist who emphasizes that certain circles in the right-wing conservative parties of the ruling CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] coalition are striving to toughen up the laws in accordance with which it will be possible more effectively—as it is termed—to prosecute representatives of democratic left-wing circles. Furthermore, discussion is due to start soon in the Bundestag on next year's state budget, and the FRG special services would like to show how necessary they are, and consequently, extract their due share.

In short, there is a whole package of reasons. All this is giving rise to anxiety among those in the FRG who are pleased at the development of Soviet-West German relations. For these are only glimmerings of progress in this sphere, yet in Bonn forces have already emerged whom this progress clearly does not suit.

Visiting Spanish Green Party Group Activities
LD041629 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1130 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the leadership of the Green Party from Spain has been in our country at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee. It is the first time that representatives of this Spanish Party, which is in favor of protecting the environment from the military threat, has visited our country.

They became acquainted with the activity of Soviet public organizations, informal associations included, and they attended the USSR Supreme Soviet during the recent session on the matter of ratifying the Soviet-U.S.

Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This treaty, said the guests from Spain who spoke at a news conference, will promote the creation of an atmosphere of trust between the USSR, the United States, and all countries of Europe, and it has our full support. At the same time, it is necessary to give the disarmament process wider scale and to make it irreversible. [video shows Manuel Lluengo, member of the Spanish delegation speaking]

We are against the presence of U.S. military bases on our territory, and we are seeking their elimination as well as Spain's withdrawal from NATO. We are in favor of the dissolution of military blocs, and we demand a ban and elimination of chemical and bacteriological weapons, said Manuel Lluengo, a Green Party activist.

Rash pollution of the environment is just as dangerous for the future of the planet. There are no state frontiers for ecological problems, which is why we are offering our cooperation to all organizations in all countries of the world that are engaged in these problems, stressed the delegates of the Green Party from Spain.

Pact Signed With UK on Nuclear Industry Safety

LD312056 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] London, 31 Mar (TASS)—TASS correspondent Sergey Terekhov reports:

A representative delegation of Soviet experts in the field of monitoring the reliability and safety of atomic power stations, headed by Vadim Malyshev, chairman of the State Committee for Safety in the Nuclear Power Industry, ended its visit to Britain today by signing a Soviet-British protocol. In the course of 3 days, the Soviet specialists discussed with their British colleagues from the Health and Safety Executive a wide range of problems relating to matters concerning improving methods of monitoring the work of nuclear power stations; exchanged experience in inspection and monitoring of the reliability and safety of nuclear establishments; and outlined ways for further developing Soviet-British cooperation in this sphere and for transferring such cooperation onto a permanent basis. During the course of the visit, the delegation visited one of Britain's largest atomic-power complexes at Hinkley Point (county of Somerset) and had a meeting with British parliamentarians.

As is stressed in the final protocol on the results of the visit, the continuation and further activization of such contacts meet the interests of both sides and positively contribute to the general development of scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Britain. In particular, the participants in the talks expressed agreement in principle on the future conclusion of a Soviet-British agreement on mutual exchange of information in corresponding spheres and also exchanged drafts for such an agreement. Agreement was also reached on a return visit by a delegation of British experts to the USSR.

Eddie Ryder, chief inspector of Great Britain's nuclear enterprises, who headed the British side at the talks, stated in this connection: "I am glad that the present, very important visit, has ended with such positive results." "The proposals which have been put forward meet the interests of the safe development of atomic power engineering in both countries, and I hope that regular meetings of such a nature will become a constant feature of our cooperation in that field," he stressed.

Briefs

Petrovskiy Meets Swedish Group

Moscow March 31 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, today received the delegation of the Swedish International Relations Institute headed by Nils Andren, chairman of this institute's council of directors. They discussed the questions of developing an international dialogue with a view to forming a comprehensive system of international security, and vigorously involving in it scientists and public at large. [Text] [*LD010234 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 31 Mar 88*]

Air France to Leningrad

Leningrad March 31 TASS—"Air France" has joined the air-lines making regular flights to Leningrad. This was reported at a press-conference today by Yuriy Balakin, chief of the Leningrad Civil Aviation Department. The department is second in the USSR only to that of Moscow as regards the number of foreign travellers carried. "Air France" Boeing-727 jets will fly in here under a new schedule. Thsse will be regular Paris to Helsinki to Leningrad flights twice a week, with a five hours flying time. For its part, the Soviet "IL-86" jumbo jet will be making regular flights to the French capital. Air communication between Leningrad and cities in foreign countries is broadening each year. At present, planes from Leningrad make regular flights to thirty cities of Europe and to New York. [Text] [*LD010248 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 31 Mar 88*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Baryshev Comments on Situation in Panama

LD042204 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] The situation in and around Panama continues to remain extremely complicated and tense. The United States is activating hostile activity, psychological propaganda warefare against that country, and is stepping up economic pressure to destabilize those in power. I have with me in the studio the observer of the political weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, Aleksandr Baryshev.

[Baryshev] No matter what the representatives of the U.S. Administration are saying to justify their aggressive actions against Panama, the radical aggravation of relations between the United States and that country must be seen exclusively in U.S. military plans. It is quite obvious that Washington does not want to part with the military infrastructure it has created on Panamanian territory. It particularly needs this infrastructure now to suppress the national liberation movement in restless Central America. But that is counter to Panamanian national interests. There can be no doubt about the fact that any government of Panama that will insist that the 1977 Panama Canal treaty be observed will not be to the liking of the White House.

It is appropriate to recall that Reagan himself, even before he was President, resolutely spoke out against those treaties, both during the negotiations and in the course of their ratification. The U.S. Republican leadership adhered to a similar line during both Reagan's first and second terms.

It turns out that the epicenter of the present U.S.-Panama conflict is the commander in chief of the National Defense Forces, General Noriega, who is accused of all kinds of sins. Although not all the nationalistic and patriotic stands taken by him were to the liking of the White House, it is not only a question of him, of course. The real U.S. aim is not so much to overthrow him as to break off the treaties regarding handing over the canal to the Panamanians by the year 2000. If they implement the treaties, you see, they will have to remove the Pentagon's Southern Command and withdraw all the U.S. troops.

Temporary Cease-Fire in Effect in Nicaragua

LD020631 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 2 TASS—A sixty-day ceasefire between the Sandinist People's Army and the armed contra groups has been in effect throughout the country's territory for twenty-four hours now.

The temporary ceasefire agreement was signed at Sapoa last week. The sides undertook to refrain from offensive operations for two months.

Under the accord, the armed contra groups and isolated sabotage groups are located in five special zones. They will stay there during the two months of the temporary truce during which the republic's government and the contras will hold talks on a final ceasefire.

The first round of the talks opens in Managua on April 6. The day earlier the technical commissions of the two sides at Sapoa will discuss matters connected with the activity of contra groups in the ceasefire zones.

Foreign Ministry Statement

LD030805 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 3 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 3 TASS—In view of a request by the leadership of the 'Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance' to postpone the regular round of talks, scheduled for April 6, to a later date, the Government of Nicaragua considers it necessary to hold the talks on the date determined by the Sapoa agreements, says a statement issued here by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The government, for its part, undertook to observe full safety and inviolability of the members of the delegation of the contras in Managua, the statement points out.

Contras Postpone Talks

LD041138 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 4 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has urged the contra leaders to take a responsible stand on the issue of talks on ultimate ceasefire. As is pointed out in the statement by the republic's Foreign Ministry, it depends on the results of the talks whether an end is put to the bloody war in Nicaragua.

The contra leaders have announced their decision to put off till April 12 the talks with the Nicaraguan Government on an ultimate ceasefire, which were scheduled to be held in Managua on April 6 within the framework of the agreement reached between representatives of the Sandinist Government and the contras in Sapoa populated locality in the south of Nicaragua. The pretext for the fresh postponement are the unfounded charges made against the Nicaraguan Government of allegedly violating the terms of the ceasefire agreement.

Many observers note that the real cause behind the procrastination is the stand by some contra leaders insisting on a continuation of the war. This is seen in particular from the setting up by the Somozist chiefs of the so-called Front of Opposition to the Sapoa talks in Miami.

Elliott Abrams, U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, made a provocative statement in the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES aimed at sowing distrust in the process of peace settlement in Nicaragua. Washington has chosen as the target of its attacks the agreement on temporary ceasefire signed in Sapoa. Abrams did not bother to cite any facts of "violation" of the terms of the agrement by the Sandinistas and claimed that the Nicaraguan Government was not going to abide by its provisions.

Commenting on the statement by E. Abrams, American Congressman Frank J. Guarini said the assistant secretary of state suffers from "a pathological fear of peace" in Nicaragua.

U.S. Peace Observers To Remain in Nicaragua

LD042215 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] San Francisco April 4 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Algunov reports:

Representatives of U.S. peace organizations will permanently stay in Nicaragua throughout the entire period of peace negotiations. According to Brian Willson, prominent peace champion in the USA, the aim of their stay in Central America is control over a settlement of the conflict and the ceasefire between the Sandinistas and the contras.

The first group of 10 public observers which included Willson, has just returned from a two-week trip to Nicaragua. Veterans of the peace campaign against the U.S. undeclared aggression in Central America met politicians and statesmen in that country, servicemen and residents of border areas who suffer most of all from contras' inroads. Information collected by the group fully refuted concoctions by the White House about a certain invasion by Sandinistas into Honduras. That was a sheer lie of the Reagan administration, pointed out Margaret Gibson, one of the observers and a psychologist from Harvard University. Public observers will also render assistance to Nicaraguan population in peaceful construction.

Chigir Views UK Falklands Military Exercises

LD011406 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 1 Apr 88

["South Atlantic in the NATO Sights"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS political news analyst Nikolay Chigir:

The consequences of the British-Argentine conflict, which broke out six years ago, remain to this day the main cause behind the serious tensions in the South Atlantic. Responsible for this situation is the British Conservative Government, which not only hampers in every way possible a peaceful settlement of the issue of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), but is also deliberately whipping up tensions in that region.

One of the eloquent evidences of this stand of Britain are the big British military exercises, which lasted almost a month, in the Falkland Islands. One may ask why the Thatcher government needed to stage that demonstration of its military power in an area where nothing and nobody threatens Britain? This militaristic action was clearly of a provocative character and was aimed at frightening Argentina and at the same time confirming the British claim to eternal sovereignty over the archipelago.

The British military exercises held with the blessing of the USA, which granted the Britons its base in Easter Island [as received] for airlifting troops from Britain to South Atlantic, are a challenge not only to Argentina, but also to the whole of Latin America, the international community as a whole.

It is apt to recall that in full conformity with the repeated recommendations of the U.N. General Assembly the Argentine Government has more than once addressed the proposal to London on a start of talks for the discussion of all issues in connection with the dispute on sovereignty over the Falklands (Malvinas). Yet the British authorities have invariably totally neglected this constructive initiave of Argentina. It is also apt to recall the resolution adopted by the 41st U.N. General Assembly session, in which the area of the Atlantic between Africa and South America was solemnly proclaimed a "zone of peace and cooperation." The resolution contained, in particular, a call to all states for strict observance of such a status for the region of the South Atlantic. Special attention was devoted in that to a reduction and, in the long run, elimination of all military presence in it. But as we see, Britain is refusing to implement this decision of the international community either. In this stand it meets with full support from the USA, its chief NATO ally.

It shall also be remembered that during the conflict of 1982, the USA fully supported the Britons. The point is that the USA, as the Latin American press repeatedly pointed out, has already long hatched plans for turning South Atlantic into its "patrimonial estate," whose stronghold would be the Falkland Islands (Malvinas).

Unlike the stand taken by the NATO top brass, an overwhelming majority of the countries of the world, including the Soviet Union, favour a constructive political settlement of disputable issues in the South Atlantic, the turning of that region into a zone of true cooperation according with the interests of maintaining peace and security both in the region itself and the world over.

Cuba's Castro Receives Mozambique's Chissano

LD031022 Moscow TASS in English 0909 GMT 3 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 3 TASS—Official talks were held here between Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic, and Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Frelimo Party, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In a friendly atmosphere, the sides discussed various aspects of bilateral cooperation. There was an exchange of views on matters concerning the international situation. They considered, in particular, the situation in the south of Africa where the racist regime of Pretoria continues its policy of pressure, threats and direct aggressions spearheaded against the peoples of Mozambique and Angola.

Cuban Embassy Official on Trade Development

PA011720 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0100 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Interview with Cuban Embassy Commercial Counselor Felix Loaces Ramos in Moscow by correspondent (Andrey Yosov); date not given—recorded]

[Text] [(Yosov)] What is your opinion on prospects for trade development between our countries in 1988?

[Loaces] The list of products to be exported from Cuba to the USSR and vice versa has increased in 1988. For example, for the first time Cuba will export [word indistinct] keyboards and computer keyboards for computers produced in the USSR. Also included are new types of alpha-numeric displays, and we are diversifying refreshment production in the USSR—refreshments that are currently very fashionable on the Soviet market.

[(Yosov)] Are the refreshments made with the aid of our Cuban comrades already being sold [words indistinct] in the Radio Moscow dining room?

[Loaces] Yes, already there are very popular refreshments being produced in the USSR with Cuban raw material, including [word indistinct]. Regarding Soviet exports to Cuba during 1988, a new line has already been included that is very appealing for Cubans: color television sets. Virtually the entire Cuban population will have an elegant, compact television set that also has good technical specifications for the domestic market network during the second half of 1988.

[Words indistinct] nine new Soviet equipment lines will be introduced in Cuba during 1988. For example, the factory (?Moklut Moscovich) in Moscow is already producing in bulk the new 2141 model, which will also be supplied to [word indistinct]. New models of record players, radios, and so forth will also be exported. In addition, there is a whole new industrial line that offers very good prospects for trade development this year.

[(Yosov)] Comrade, please give us your personal opinion on our commercial exchange over the past years.

[Loaces] I can say that Soviet-Cuban commercial exchange is a good example of what relations should be between a highly developed nation and a developing country such as Cuba. Bases have been created within the socialist community to allow for a just and adaptable exchange within the new international economic order. This order has been programmed and proclaimed by the world's developing countries but, regrettably, has not been recognized by most Western countries. Our foreign trade relations with the USSR have a completely different character [than that normally had between a highly developed nation and a developing country] and, as our highest leader said some time ago, demonstrate a completely different type of relations. These relations are based on an exchange that is very beneficial for Cuba and that also benefits the Soviets because of products we export to the USSR.

Work Starts on Cuban Nuclear Research Center

LD021855 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 2 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 2 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Pshennichnikov reports:

Construction of a nuclear research centre which will become, along with the Juragua nuclear power station going up in Cienfuegos Province, one of the main projects within the national programme for using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, has been launched on Cuba.

Last Friday a stone-laying ceremony was held at the site of the future centre, 20 kilometres south-east of Havana, in the area of the village of Pedro Pi where the building will be erected for a research nuclear reactor with a capacity of 10 megawatt. The ceremony was attended by party and state leaders, as well as Soviet specialists rendering assistance to their Cuban counterparts in erecting the project.

Construction of the nuclear research centre is provided for by the 1980 inter-government Soviet-Cuban agreement. The supplier of equipment is the Soviet export-import association Atomenergoexport. The first stage of the project, which will be the so-called "Zero" capacity reactor, is planned to be turned over to scientists in 1991. Then builders will start erecting a research reactor. The centre will conduct fundamental and research work, stage experiments in the interests of developing medicine and agriculture. The centre will be a school for training skilled national personnel in nuclear physics.

Fidel Castro Diaz Balart, executive secretary of the National Commission on Atomic Energy, told TASS that the construction of the nuclear research centre was of great importance for the country's future, for the development of the national atomic power industry. Its construction will enable cuba to carry on fundamental research in physics, noted the Cuban scientist.

Chilean Communist Party Reiterates Policy

PY042301 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0200 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From "The Voice of the Fatherland" feature]

[Text] The Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] this week reiterated some aspects of its policy regarding the Chilean Armed Forces in relation to the complex political situation prevailing in the country.

In answer to distortions and misleading information about the PCCh position made by EL MERCURIO, which intentionally quoted out of context and forged an article which had been published in PRINCIPIOS, a PCCh publication which upholds the theories and principles of the party, PCCh spokesman Carlos Toro explained the Communist position.

Toro called on the armed forces to put an end to repression and emphasized the need for the armed forces to democratize their ranks. He denied that the PCCh upholds antimilitary positions. He said that the party does not discard the military participation in an eventual government of a popular nature.

The letter written by Toro to EL MERCURIO, which was published in the column "Analysis and Art," says that the policy of popular rebellion of the masses advocated by the PCCh is not the result of the armed struggle, which is the way the rightist daily presented it and wants the people to believe.

The letter explains that the PCCh policy upholds a position regarding the armed forces, which is in keeping with the development of the self defense of the masses, and which works toward incorporating members of the armed forces. But the letter adds that it is much more than that: First, it involves work for the active participation of the majority in various forms of struggle for freedom.

The letter recalls that the report to the latest PCCh National Conference stated that the military chiefs cannot avoid their responsibility for the events that occurred after 1973, that that problem [words indistinct] for reconciling themselves with the people and their own roots. The letter adds that the reconciliation can only occur around a new democratic military doctrine.

The letter goes on to say that the Communists are not against the armed forces, that if there are conditions for a popular, national, antifascist, antiimperialist, and antioligarchic government without exclusions and with military participation in the future, the Communists will support that type of government.

The letter addressed to EL MERCURIO reiterates that the members of the armed forces must get rid of the U.S. national security doctrine because it is a doctrine that confronts them with the people and gives them the role of protector, thus replacing popular sovereignty. The democratization of the armed forces we advocate, says the letter, has nothing to do with relinquishing discipline or rank which is part of an armed organization.

The letter of the Communist spokesman Carlos Toro concludes by saying that EL MERCURIO is seeking to distort the PCCh position about the armed forces in order to cut off any possible unity between the Communists and other sectors of the opposition. The distortion aims to divide in order to help the continuation of the regime and the institutions which serve the captain general. It also aims at stimulating the entrenchment of the armed forces to prevent the democratic and progressive thoughts from entering their ranks.

Chilean Socialist Party Comments on Panama

PY041932 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2030 GMT 3 Apr 88

[Text] The Foreign Relations Committee of the Chilean Socialist Party Central Committee has asserted in a statement made public in recent days that events in Panama undoubtedly result from a coolly calculated plan of destabilization drawn up in Washington, with the intention of preventing the implementation of the historic Panama Canal agreement signed by Torrijos and Carter. The statement said that the Reagan government not only intends to disregard this accord but also to turn Panama into a virtual neocolony of the United States. To this effect, the statement continues, the Reagan administration incites and finances the activities of oligarchic, antinationalistic groups, discredits legitimate Panamanian authorities, and tries to undermine the unity between the people and the country's National Defense Forces.

The Chilean Socialist Party adds that U.S. plan is at odds with the dignity and conscience of the Panamanian people, who are the only source of the country's sovereignty. Therefore, these people are determined not to kneel before imperialism, and they have decided not to give up their nationalistic, independent, and sovereign policy. The Chilean socialists, the statement says, publicly express unrestricted solidarity with the government of the Revolutionary Democratic Party and the Panamanian people. At the same time, they openly condemn the interventionist plans of the U.S. Administration.

We demand unrestricted respect for the Torrijos-Carter agreement and, for the sovereignty and institutional organization of the Republic of Panama. We fully share the Latin American sentiment that any attempt by U.S. imperialism to intervene in the Republic of Panama must cease.

Haitian Communist Leader Interviewed

LD041351 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 4 Apr 88

["Haitian Communist Leader—TASS Interview"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 4 TASS—"By putting economic, political and military pressure on Panama, the United States challenges the entire Latin American community. Washington must realise that the time of gunboat diplomacy has passed. International affairs can be built only on the principles of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs, respect for the right of any nation to decide its own destiny, whether it is a great power or a small state," Rene Theodore, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists, said.

General Noriega and accusations, levelled by Washington against him, are only a pretext for the United States to unleash an anti-Panamanian campaign, he told TASS correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy. For many years the American Administration was quite contented with the general, who only now falls foul of it. The ballyhoo around Noriega serves as a smokescreen for masking the true goals of the United States which have nothing to do with its anti-drug efforts. As is known, the Panama Canal must be fully transferred to Panamanians by the year 2000 under the 1977 Panamanian-U.S. treaty. However, if Washington manages to install in power in Panama a pro-American government, the United States will have full authority over waterway linking two oceans. Besides, in violation of the existing treaty, the United States intends to keep its military bases on the territory of Panama.

Commenting on the situation in Central America, Rene Theodore welcomed the provisional ceasefire agreement between the Sandinist government and contra leaders. He stressed that the armistice in Nicaragua was brought about despite the policy of the American Administration, which banked on the military solution of the Central American conflict, and not due to it.

"We hope that the agreement will mark the first step towards a lasting and just peace in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. Peace and stability are the necessary conditions for tackling other problems of the region, such as economic and social backwardness, huge foreign debt, unemployment, hunger and poverty."

On the situation in Haiti, Rene Theodore noted that the current regime was in isolation both at home and abroad. The Haitians have already secured major successes in the struggle for main democratic freedoms. The creation of a legitimate, genuinely democratic government stands high on the agenda today. To this end, it is important that all progressive forces pool their efforts in the first place.

The secretary-general stressed that the perestroyka drive in the Soviet Union affected not only the life inside the Soviet Union but also the solution of such global problems as disarmament, detente and cooperation. He regarded the Soviet-U.S. intermediate nuclear forces treaty as an important step towards nuclear disarmament. Mankind has a right to expect Moscow and Washington to follow it up with other agreements in this area, which will contribute to translating the slogan "Disarmament for Development" into reality, Rene Theodore said.

Political & Social

Restructuring's First Three Years Lauded

PM051023 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[Editorial article: "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting"; boldface as published—response to 13 March SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article published under the headline "Stalin Defended, 'Cosmopolitan' Liberals Lashed" in the 16 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 48-53]

[Text] The April (1985) Plenum of the party Central Committee initiated a new stage of social development aimed at the qualitative renewal of Soviet society and at restructuring.

On starting this essentially revolutionary work on an unprecedented scale, far from everyone involved in it was aware of the difficulties awaiting us on the chosen path. But one thing was clear: We could not live in the old way. The country had begun to lose momentum, unresolved problems were building up, elements of social corrosion had become apparent, and trends alien to socialism had emerged. All this had resulted in stagnation and precrisis phenomena.

The analytical work done by the party, the discussion of its results at the 27th CPSU Congress, the congress decisions, progressive sociopolitical thinking—everything indicated unambiguously that fundamentally new approaches were needed in all spheres. In the economy and the social sphere, in the management of the economy and social life, in the spiritual sphere and in encouraging the working people's activeness and initiative. This was the only way we could hold on to what had been gained through the labor and heroism of the preceding generations. It was the only way we could give a new boost to the development of our socialist society.

The conclusion of the party, the people, and of all who feel profoundly and sincerely for the country, for socialism, and for our common future was unanimous: There was no alternative to restructuring. We could reject or even defer restructuring only at very great cost both to our society's internal development and to the international positions of the Soviet state and socialism as a whole. This real truth was stated bluntly and frankly, with facts and figures to hand.

Three years have passed. They have seen a great deal. The concept, strategy, and tactics of restructuring have been drawn up. Its revolutionary principles have been clearly defined: more democracy, more socialism. Restructuring today is social practice.

Restructuring as a way of thinking and acting is gaining an increasingly strong hold on the masses and increasingly profoundly becoming a part of life, determining the nature of social consciousness and of practical work.

We have changed over the past 3 years. We have raised our heads and straightened up, we look the facts honestly in the face, we speak aloud and openly of painful things, and together we are seeking ways to resolve problems which have built up over decades. The real changes which have already become apparent in the resolution of a number of social and economic tasks would be impossible without a decisive shift toward democratization.

We are all learning to live under conditions of broadening democracy and glasnost and undergoing a great learning process. It is no easy learning process. It has proved harder than we presumed to rid ourselves of old thoughts and actions. But the chief thing uniting us today is the awareness that there is no going back. The pernicious nature of such an action is obvious.

How are we to revive more quickly the Leninist essence of socialism, purge it of accretions and deformations, and rid ourselves of what was fettering society and preventing the full realization of socialism's potential? Precisely this is the problem on which, in the final analysis, the attention of the debate participants is focused, and diametrically opposed approaches are sometimes manifested here.

Now that we have embarked on the second stage of restructuring, questions to which answers already seemed to have been given have once again become topical. They include, above all, this one—can we not get by without breaking things, without radical measures, can we not confine ourselves just to improving what was created earlier? In the process of restructuring do we not risk losing or destroying much of what has been created over the seven decades since Great October?

Many difficult, painful questions are being raised. Glasnost has shown that the debate sometimes lacks political culture and the ability to listen to one another and to conduct a scientific analysis of social processes, or else it simply lacks knowledge and arguments.

And restructuring itself is frequently understood in different ways. For some people it is just another cosmetic repair job. Others have seen restructuring as an opportunity for some kind of "dismantling" of the whole system of socialism, and if this is so, then the whole path traveled since October is declared false, and the values and principles of socialism groundless. Yet others get carried away with radical phraseology, nurturing in themselves and others the illusion of skipping necessary stages.

Why do these questions arise, and what do they reflect? There are many reasons. Some people have not yet gotten to the bottom of what is happening. Some people are not fully aware of the seriousness of the situation which has taken shape. Some people do not doubt their own strength—and not only their own strength. Some people find it hard to part with mental laziness and tranquillity and are unaccustomed to assuming the burden of responsibility for their actions. Some people have already managed to take fright at the scale of the transformations.

Such diversity of reactions to the practical business of restructuring is understandable, particularly if you take into account both the burden of former conservative habits and the complex and unaccustomed nature of the new problems concentrated in this brief, 3-year stage. It is clear that it is necessary to further explain the ideas and aims of restructuring and the causes which gave rise to it, to investigate social processes collectively, and to separate the wheat from the chaff in both the old and the new. All this—we repeat—is normal and natural. The debate in society on all questions of our life is also natural. It is proceeding and will continue to develop. Its beneficial influence on social development is becoming increasingly noticeable.

The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum concretized the party's new tasks in restructuring all spheres of life at the present stage. The plenum speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee—"Revolutionary Restructuring Requires Ideology of Renewal"—made a clear analysis of today's problems and set forth a program of ideological support for restructuring. People want to be better aware of the point of the changes which have begun in society, to see the essence and significance of the proposed solutions, and to know what is meant by the new quality of society which we want to acquire. The struggle for restructuring is being waged both in production and in the spiritual sphere. And even though this struggle does not assume the form of class antagonisms, it is proceeding sharply. The emergence of something new always exacerbates attitudes toward and judgments about this new thing.

The debate itself and its nature and thrust attest to the democratization of our society. The diversity of judgments, assessments, and positions constitutes one of the most important signs of the times and attests to the socialist pluralism of opinions which really exists now.

But it is impossible not to notice a very specific dimension of this debate. It occasionally declares itself not in a desire to interpret what is happening and to investigate it nor in a wish to advance the cause but, on the contrary, to slow it down by shouting the usual incantations: "They are betraying ideals!"; "abandoning principles!"; "undermining foundations!"

I think that we are not just dealing here with sociopsychological phenomena. Such a stance has its roots in command- and edict-based bureaucratic management methods. It is also bound up with the moral legacy of the time as well as naked pragmatic interests and considerations and the desire to defend one's own privileges—whether material, social, or spiritual—at any price.

It is an axiom of Marxism that ideas and interests are mutually linked categories. Any interest is expressed in certain ideas. Behind all ideas there is invariably a particular interest. Conservative opposition to restructuring is composed of the weight of custom and habitual thinking and action derived from the past and the belligerent, selfish interests of those accustomed to living at others' expense and reluctant to kick this habit. It is against those interests that restructuring is objectively aimed, for restructuring, like every revolution, is not just for something, it is also against something. It is against everything that impedes our living a better, cleaner, and fuller life, making more rapid progress, and paying the least price for the inevitable mistakes and miscalculations that occur along the new path.

In this difficult situation it is necessary to clearly discern where there is real discussion, genuine concern over real problems, and a search for the best answers and solutions and where, on the other hand, there is a desire to turn democratization and glasnost against themselves, against restructuring.

Some people have become mentally confused and perplexed. The launching of democratization, the rejection of edict- and command-based methods of leadership and management, the expansion of glasnost, and the lifting of all manner of prohibitions and restrictions have generated apprehension: Are we not shaking the the very foundations of socialism, revising the principles of Marxism-Leninism?

Some people maintain as follows: "We are heading for petty bourgeois socialism based on commodity-money relationships. And who is dragging it into our society? Idealists with a Menshevik mentality [menshinstvuyushchiye idealisty; presumably this is author's rendition of more commonly encountered "menshevistvuyushchiye idealisty" much criticized during the thirties through the early fifties]. That is the main danger for us and for world peace in general. That is the 20th-century plague which V.I. Lenin put so much effort into combatting."

"Don't rock the boat!" others say, intimidatingly. "You'll overturn and destroy socialism."

There are also those who bluntly propose stopping or else turning back altogether.

The long article "I Cannot Waive Principles" that appeared in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 13 March was a reflection of such feelings.

The article, written in the form of a "letter to the editorial office," attracted readers' attention. It contains observations with which one is bound to agree. There is energetically expressed concern over certain negative phenomena. There is a heatedness of expression which also communicates itself to the reader.

But there is something else that is nevertheless more important: the reason it was written, the kind of solutions it proposes, and the overall spirit and style of those solutions. It is by those criteria that the utter incompatibility and antithesis between the stances adopted in the article and the basic thrusts of restructuring are revealed.

Let us make a reservation here: Any author is entitled to defend his standpoint. And precisely this approach is now established in our society thanks to glasnost and restructuring. It is the job of a press organ to present a particular stance for readers' judgment and to define its own attitude to it. The rubric under which the article was published allowed one to suppose that polemic on the nature of the questions raised would follow, if not immediately, then at least after a certain time. This is particularly necessary when the questions raised are serious and couched in a vein which can only be described as providing an ideological platform and manifesto for antirestructuring forces. It is no wonder that many people are asking how the fact of this article's publication and the manner in which it was done are to be understood. Does it not signal, as has already occurred, a return to the old rut?

Whether the author wanted it or not, the article is primarily aimed at artificially setting off certain categories of Soviet people against one another. And precisely at the moment when the unity of creative forces—despite all the shades of opinion—is more necessary than ever and when such unity is the prime requirement of restructuring and an absolute necessity simply for normal life, work, and the constructive renewal of society. Herein resides the fundamental feature of restructuring, which is designed to unite the maximum number of like-minded people in the struggle against phenomena impeding our life. Precisely and principally against the phenomena, not only or simply against certain incorrigible proponents of bureaucracy, corruption, abuse, and so forth.

Moreover, the article is unconstructive. In an extensive, pretentiously-titled article essentially no space was found to work out a single problem of restructuring. Whatever was discussed—glasnost, openness, the disappearance of areas free from criticism, youth—these processes and restructuring itself were linked only with difficulties and adverse consequences.

Perhaps readers saw for the first time in such a concentrated form in this "letter to the editorial office" not inquiry, not reflection, not even simply an expression of perplexity or confusion in the face of the complex and acute problems which life poses but the nonacceptance of the very idea of renewal, a rigorous exposition of a highly defined stance, an essentially conservative and dogmatic stance.

There are in point of fact two basic theses running throughout the content of the article: Why all this restructuring, and haven't we gone too far in questions of democratization and glasnost? The article urges us to amend and adjust restructuring, otherwise, it is alleged, "people in authority" will have to rescue socialism.

It is evident that by no means everyone has clearly realized yet the dramatic nature of the situation the country found itself in by April 1985, a situation which today we rightfully describe as precrisis. It is evident that by no means everyone is fully aware yet that administrative edict methods are totally obsolete. It is time that anyone who is still placing hopes in these methods or in their modification understood that all this has already been tried, tried repeatedly at that, and failed to produce the desired results. Any ideas about the simplicity and effectiveness of these methods are nothing but an illusion without any historical justification.

So, how is socialism to be "saved" today?

Should authoritarian methods and the practice of blind obedience and stifling of initiative be retained? Should we retain the system whereby bureaucratism, lack of control, corruption, bribery, and petty bourgeois degeneration flourished lavishly?

Or should we revert to the Leninist principles whose essence is democratism, social justice, economic accountability, and respect for the individual's honor, life, and dignity? Do we have the right, in the face of the real difficulties and unsatisfied needs of the people, to adhere to the same old approaches which prevailed in the thirties and forties? Has not the time come to clearly differentiate between the essence of socialism and the historically restricted forms of its implementation? Has not the time come for a scientifically critical investigation of our history, primarily in order to change the world in which we are living and to learn harsh lessons for the future?

The item published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA virtually advocates the first option. The second option is dictated by life, which also posed the demand for restructuring.

It is our ideological adversaries who are banking on identifying the essence of socialism with the old thinking, authoritarian methods, and retreat from the principles of socialism. Surely it is obvious that in this context the positions taken by home-grown "mourners of socialism" coincide with the positions of socialism's opponents abroad? Surely, by scraping the rust of bureaucratism off the values, ideals, and principles of socialism and cleansing it of all that is inhuman, we are releasing the best constructive forces for the struggle for socialism, for our values and our ideals? Surely the struggle against conservative thinking and dogmatism is a struggle for these ideals, against their distortion, and simultaneously against lack of ideological discrimination and nihilism? After all, it is the blind, diehard, undoubting dogmatists, whose nervous system is used to functioning strictly according to all or nothing principle, whereby everything is either harmonious and good or falling apart and bad, who are likely to end up in a state of dismay and hysteria. It is they, incapable of withstanding the "tension of contradictions" and having lost their customary material and spiritual comforts, who turn into extreme nihilists before anybody else.

The article lacks the main element which defines a scientific approach toward matters: a desire to reveal the essence of historical processes and to separate the objective from the subjective, the necessary from the incidental, the things which really served the cause of socialism from those which harmed it, both in our own eyes and in the eyes of the whole world. The article is dominated by an essentially fatalistic perception of history which is totally removed from a genuinely scientific perception of it, by a tendency to justify everything that has happened in history in terms of historical necessity. The attitude that you can't make an omelet without breaking eggs is incompatible with both genuine science and socialist morality.

Almost half of the article is devoted to an assessment of our distant and recent history. The last few years provide graphic proof of the growing interest in the past shown by the broadest strata of the population. The principles of scientific historicism and truth are increasingly the basis on which the people's historical awareness is taking shape. At the same time, there are instances of people playing on the idea of patriotism. Those who loudly scream about alleged "internal threats" to socialism, those who join certain political extremists and look everywhere for internal enemies, "counterrevolutionary nations," and so on, are not patriots. The patriots are those who act in the country's interests and for the people's benefit, without fearing any difficulties. We do not need contemplative or verbal patriotism, we need creative patriotism. Not nostalgic and backward looking [kvasnoy i lapotnyy] patriotism, but the patriotism of socialist transformations. Patriotism based not only on love for the area of your birth but imbued with pride in the accomplishments of the great motherland of socialism.

The past is vitally necessary for the present, for solving the tasks of restructuring. Life's objective demand—"More socialism!"—makes it incumbent upon us to investigate what we did yesterday and how we did it. What has to be rejected, what has to be retained. Which principles and values ought to be considered really socialist? And if today we are taking a critical look at our history, we are doing so only because we want a better and more complete idea of our path into the future.

We are reinstating the Truth, cleansing it of the false and sly truths which led to the blind alley of public apathy; we are learning the lesson in truth taught by the 27th CPSU Congress. But the Truth has proved bitter in many respects. An attempt is already being made to whitewash the past, to justify political deformities and crimes against socialism with references to nothing but emergency conditions.

Today we know: Many thousands of Communists and nonparty people, economic and military cadres, scientists and cultural figures were subjected to mass repressions.... This is the truth, it is unavoidable. The party has spoken bluntly about this. Many accusations have already been dropped, and thousands and thousands of innocent people who suffered have been fully rehabilitated. The restoration of justice is continuing. It is well known that a Central Committee Politburo commission is at work, studying all aspects of facts and documents referring to these issues.

To keep silent about painful issues in our history means to disregard the truth and show disrespect for the memory of those innocent victims of illegality and arbitrariness. There is just one truth. What is needed is clarity, accuracy, and consistency as a moral guideline for the future.

Numerous discussions taking place today sharply raise the question of I.V. Stalin's role in our country's history. The article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA does not overlook him, either. While declaring support for the CPSU Central Committee resolution on overcoming the personality cult and its consequences (1956) and approval for the assessment of Stalin's activity contained in the party's latest documents, in practice the article virtually makes an attempt to refute them and to separate socialism and morality.

To suit his purpose the author turns to Churchill for support. Let us note: The eulogy of Stalin he quotes did not originate with Churchill. Something along these lines was said by the famous British Trotskiyite I. Deutscher. Be that as it may, though, it would be legitimate to ask: Is it tactful to turn indiscriminately to bourgeois sources when assessing leaders and eminent figures of our party and state? Especially if we already have a clearly stated position by the party itself or, in this specific case, an assessment by V.I. Lenin.

Stalin's personality was extremely contradictory. Hence the furious arguments. But principled assessments were made at the 20th and 22d party congresses and in the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Maintaining our positions of historic truth, we must see both Stalin's indisputable contribution to the struggle for socialism and the defense of socialist gains on the one hand, and, on the other hand, his flagrant political errors and the arbitrary rule permitted by him and his entourage, for which our people paid a great price and which had serious consequences for our society's life. People can sometimes be heard to claim that Stalin did not know about acts of lawlessness. He did not just know about them, he organized and directed them. That is now a proven fact. And Stalin's guilt—along with that of his closest entourage—to the party and people for the mass repressions and lawlessness he permitted is enormous and unforgivable.

Yes, all historians are molded by specific socioeconomic, ideological, and political conditions. But the cult was not inevitable. It is alien to the nature of socialism and only became possible because of deviations from fundamental socialist principles.

But why—now that the party has provided a clear and direct answer to this question—should we return to it again and again? I think for two reasons. Primarily because, in defending Stalin, people thereby defend the retention in our life and practice today of the methods engendered by him for "resolving" disputed questions and of the social and state structures and norms of party and social life he created. The main point is that they are defending the right to arbitrary rule. Arbitrary rule, which, on closer inspection, invariably turns out to be just an egoistic interest—although in some people this interest can be aimed at taking more and giving less, while in others it is wrapped up in the outwardly respectable garb of claims to a monopoly in science or to one's own infallibility, or something else.

Another reason to keep coming back to the question of Stalin's personality is that there is speculation around this assessment on what people hold most dear—the point of the lives they have led. Concepts get substituted: If Stalin was guilty of crimes, people claim, how are we to assess our past achievements? How are we to assess the labor and heroism of people who caused the land of socialism to achieve historic gains? Are we not denying them too in condemning Stalin and rejecting his methods?

No we are not, we are actually extolling them even further. Honest workers, soldiers in the battlefield, and all Soviet people who proved their patriotism and their devotion to the motherland and socialism through their work were doing—and did do!—their duty. It was their work, selflessness, and heroism that brought our country to unprecedented heights. And only an immoral person would cast aspersions on the people's work and achievements. But today we are better aware then ever of how difficult it was to do real work at that time—a time that was difficult in every respect.

It would be wrong now to put these people down as advocates of Stalin's lawlessness. It would also be wrong because we realize and are obliged to realize just how much greater the results of their efforts would have been for the whole country and for each of us if their creative input and material effectiveness had not been impaired by objectively anti-Leninist and antisocialist practices.

No, the lives of party, war, and labor veterans were not in vain! All subsequent generations owe them a debt that can never be repaid.

But some people just cannot rid themselves of nostalgia for the past, when certain people would speak and others would listen and submissively do their bidding. Certain people's nostalgia can be understood, but it is not a press organ's job to propagandize such sentiments, not only by not making a proper assessment of them, but by creating the impression among people that they are being offered some kind of "new" political platform.

One's attention is also drawn to the author's arguments on the class approach to the assessment of the arguments and opinions expressed in the discussions. The author's view is that certain controversial positions that people may adopt are not engendered by problems but by people's definite social or national provenance. This thereby focuses the question not on what is being said and disputed, but on who precisely is doing the saying and disputing.

A class approach is undoubtedly needed in discussions. But even in those cases where we are forced to deal with people who have ideas alien to socialism, the class approach is not a "hallmark" that makes "selection" easier, but a tool of scientific analysis. The article states that the "descendants of the classes overthrown by October are alive and well" along with the "spiritual heirs of Dan and Martov and other Russian Social Democrats, the spiritual followers of Trotskiy or Yagoda, and the descendants of NEPmen, basmaches, and kulaks." The article is virtually prepared to seek a genetic reason for antisocialist sentiments. Is this position not consonant with Stalin's well-known directive on the exacerbation of the class struggle in the process of socialist building—a directive which had tragic consequences?

The article expresses concern about the well-known spread of nihilism among a section of our young people. Should this be a cause for concern? Yes. But it should be seen that today's "distortions" in young people's consciousness are symptoms of what is by no means a modern disease. This disease is rooted in the past. It is the consequence of the spiritual diet that we fed to young people for decades and of the discrepancies between what was said on rostrums and what actually happened in real life.

The best teacher of restructuring—the one to whom we should constantly listen—is life, and life is dialectical. We should constantly remember the words of Engels that there is nothing that has been unconditionally established once and for all as sacrosanct. It is this continual motion and the constant renewal of nature, society, and our thinking that is the point of departure and the initial, most cardinal principle in our thinking.

At the most complex, dramatic, and crucial moments in history V.I. Lenin again and again turned to dialectics as the living soul of Marxism; he did so not only to understand the historic events himself, but also to arm the party and the people's masses with this concept. This was the same idea that produced the concept of restructuring.

Restructuring is gaining pace. That is obvious. The very atmosphere of society and the way people feel are different. On the whole, workers, kolkhoz members, and the intelligentsia act with a sense of responsibility for the cause of restructuring, for the country, and for socialism. And we should not be scared about movements of ideas or quests for the best ways of realizing the potential of socialist democracy. This is particularly necessary now, in the period of preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

Let us return to the question: What has been done already? How are the party's course and the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Central Committee plenums being implemented? What positive changes are taking place in people's lives?

We have really gotten down to tackling the most pressing, priority problems—housing, food, the supply of goods and services to the population. A turn toward accelerated development of the social sphere has begun. Concrete decisions have been adopted on restructuring education and health care. The radical economic reform—our main lever for implementing large-scale transformations—is being put into practice. "That is the main political result of the last 3 years," M.S. Gorbachev said at the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members.

The voice of the intelligentsia and all the working people has begun to make itself heard powerfully and strongly in society's spiritual life. This is one of the first gains accomplished by restructuring. Democratism is impossible without freedom of thought and speech, without the open, broad clash of opinions, without keeping a critical eye on our life.

Our intelligentsia has done much to prepare public awareness to understand the need for profound, cardinal changes. It has itself become actively involved in restructuring. It takes up the best traditions created by its predecessors, calls for conscience, morality, and decency, and upholds humanist principles and socialist norms of life.

How many words have been spoken and written about unifying the intelligentsia with the working class and kolkhoz peasantry. And with what new light these truths now shine, at a time of nationwide support for restructuring from the broad masses of working people! In a period in which genuinely patriotic, moral assessments of thoughts, deeds, and the whole of our life are united in all strata of society. How many patriotic initiatives are associated in restructuring with the names of our writers and poets, dramatists and critics. Here we should recall the brilliant, attacking journalistic writing, imbued with the ideology of renewal, of I. Vasilyev, which has found such a worthy place, in the pages of that same SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, in the ranks of the best materials on restructuring.

But we see something else, too: In certain works there is a lack of shared experience with the people, their history, their joys and griefs. Some authors, as if they were apostles of truth, pontificate and instruct everyone on what must be done and how. There are many attempts to make one's mark, cause a sensation, and amuse oneself with "facts" and "snippets," not for the sake of truth, but to suit one's own insatiable pride. This leads to juggling with facts, misrepresenting them, and—most important—it substitutes the history of the leadership's errors for the history of the people. Naturally, this approach offends the sensibilities of millions of honest people and does not help us to draw objective, useful lessons from history.

The roots of such phenomena lie in that same legacy of stagnation. People's thoughts and feelings were seething even then, as they reflected on what was happening and its consequences for the future. But people were forced to keep to themselves the results of this analysis, the outcome of their quest, and their own proposals. Now all this bursts out into the open with an energy multiplied by years without glasnost, and this does not always happen in a thoughtful and responsible way.

Culture is also subject to renewal and cleansing. The more profoundly and actively the intelligentsia is involved in the life of the people and party, the quicker this process will become. Tact, good will, respect, recognition of the right to one's own opinion, but also the honest, competent, open identification of errors—that is what many party committees lack today in their work with the intelligentsia. "On questions of culture," V.I. Lenin stressed, "haste and recklessness are more harmful than anything" (Vol 45, p 389).

A different phenomenon is sometimes observed in the practice of party work. This can be seen particularly clearly in examples of attitudes toward the critical voice of the press. Some people are prepared to see all the troubles, all the unpleasantnesses of daily life in the fact that the newspapers "have gotten out of hand, express opinions about everything, stir up public opinion," and so forth. It must be recognized that a newspaper column is a secondary phenomenon. The primary phenomenon is in life itself! If we are not to read about shortcomings in newspaper columns, they must not exist in life.

Once again we see the value, the responsibility, of the printed word. How sometimes unverified facts or claims to a monopoly of the truth, and sometimes simply the attempt to adapt the facts to fit a concept formulated beforehand by the author, tend to backfire against the very best intentions. Conservatives represent such errors as absolutes, they reduce the fruits of democratism and glasnost to them alone. And what is the result? Forces which at first glance are diametrically opposed in their convictions are united into one bloc, in practice, in retarding restructuring.

There are no prohibited topics today. Journals, publishing houses, and studios decide for themselves what to publish. But the appearance of the article "I Cannot Waive Principles" is an attempt little by little to revise party decisions. It has been said repeatedly at meetings in the party Central Committee that the Soviet press is not a private concern, that Communists writing for the press and editors should have a sense of responsibility for articles and publications. In this case the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, which, let us be frank, has done much for restructuring, departed from this principle.

Debates, discussions, and polemics are, of course, necessary. They lie in store for us in future too. There are also many pitfalls in store for us, traps laid by the past. We must all work together to clear these traps from our path. We need disputes which help to advance restructuring and lead to the consolidation of forces, to cohesion around restructuring, and not to disunity.

It is less than 3 months until the 19th all-union party conference. That is a great event in the life of the party and all the people. Preparations are under way. The main thing is to bring to the conference the experience of restructuring and an analysis of how the concept of restructuring is being implemented in practice and what results it is yielding. In order to really see what is happening, the new phenomena in life, Communists must be in control of events, and not tag along in their wake. V.I. Lenin said repeatedly: "...A firm line by the party, its unswerving determination is also a factor in determining the mood, especially at the most critical revolutionary moments..." (Vol 34, pp 411-412). Restructuring is the cause of every Communist, the patriotic duty of every citizen.

More light. More initiative. More responsibility. A more rapid mastery of the full profundity of the Marxist-Leninist concept of restructuring, of the new political thinking. We can and must revive the Leninist practice of the socialist society—the most humane, the most just. We will firmly and steadily follow the revolutionary principles of restructuring: more glasnost, more democracy, more socialism.

Nagorno-Karabakh Situation Reported Calm

Sumgait 'Normalization'

PM041847 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Apr 88 First Edition p 6

[Special correspondents M. Mikhalkov and Yu. Shabanov dispatch: "The City Awaits You"]

[Text] Sumgait—Just a few days ago the city was deserted at night. The streets were empty, only industrial enterprises worked—they had virtually no stoppages. We called in at the kolkhoz market. Well-organized trade is a true sign of the normalization of the situation, of a calm pace of life. The trading stalls were not deserted—they were manned not only by people from Sumgait but also by kolkhoz members from Kubinskiy, Apsheronskiy, and Shemakhinskiy Rayons and neighboring Georgia.

There was nothing, it seemed, to bring recent events to mind. Yes, outwardly nothing. But we called at the reception office of Malek Bayramova, secretary of Sumgait party gorkom, and there met Arfeniya Beglaryan, an elderly Armenian with eyes brimming with grief. From her story we learned how, in attempt to save themselves from bandits, she and her relatives and neighbors hid in a basement, but when she returned home she found her apartment ransacked. As she was telling us this a young Azerbaijani woman sitting next to her looked away.

Memory and grief are still in people's hearts. Add to this shame and an agonizing desire to know: Why did this happen, how could it have been allowed to happen? A large group of investigators is still working in Sumgait. As V. Nenashev, deputy chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Main Investigation Administration, told us, the first cases are about to come to trial, with over 40 persons under investigation.

We had many meetings with people of different ages and vocations, mainly representatives of the Azerbaijani and Armenian nationalities. At Sumgait's "Sintezkauchuk" Production Association we conversed with the senior Communist, Yu.V. Antonov, deputy chief of the metrology section.

"Our worst mistake, or rather misconception," he said, "is that we removed questions of international education from the agenda, believing that mutual relations between nations had been resolved once and for all time. And we looked upon any manifestation of national dissension as children's pranks unworthy of attention. But life has taught us a harsh lesson and we must draw conclusions from it. In the pursuit of economic prosperity we must not consign the moral condition of the human soul to oblivion, we must not let its education be replaced by loud and meaningless slogans."

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has imposed strict punishment for these omissions, for the inability of party and soviet workers and justice organs to influence the situation in the city. This has already been reported in the press. The party gorkom bureau now has to investigate the events in detail and outline measures to prevent any repetition.

"First of all," party gorkom secretary M. Bayramova said, "we tried to do everything possible to help people. We visited the families of the victims and compiled a list of the damage done. Many of the attacked apartments have already been repaired. People have received material assistance. Some have received new accommodation. The family of A. Beglaryan, whom you met, is due to move into a three-room apartment shortly."

"And what about those who have left the city because of fears that the drama would be repeated?"

"I am confident that no such thing will happen again. The sad experience has taught us much. The city is now quiet. People's cohesion can be felt. Those who left Sumgait have either returned or are planning to return. G. Babayan sent a telegram from Stavropol not so long ago. This is what it said: 'Don't let anyone else move into our apartment, we'll be back in a few days' time.' Incidentally, he addressed the telegram to his neighbor, the Azerbaijani Gasan Gasanov. It was he who brought it to the gorispolkom.

"I can inform G. Babayan that his apartment has been repaired and the keys are with the housing office. The same applies to the accommodation belonging to other people who left. Come back."

We telephoned Stepanakert. A number of plants and factories were working in the morning of 1 April, even though not fully staffed. One would like to believe that the strong-arm pressure tactics [taktika silovogo davleniya] which caused considerable economic difficulties and inflicted moral and political harm on Stepanakert's residents are now a thing of the past. It seems that reason is prevailing over passions.

We were told a few days before the mass return to work [do massovogo vykhoda na rabotu] that the strikes would start abating 1 April. This means that the backstairs guidance is continuing.... We were told that now is the time for party and soviet workers in the autonomous oblast and for sober-minded members of the intelligentsia to organize ideological-organization work in such a fashion that nobody can ever again succeed in diverting people from their correctly chosen path.

Armenians Describe Strikes

AU051230 Paris AFP in English 1208 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 5 (AFP)—An Armenian nationalist said the population of Stepanakert in the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh had begun a new week of strikes Monday, but local Communist Party officials said people were going back to work. Party officials contacted by telephone Tuesday said people were going to work "as normal," just as they had done Monday in the principal town of the autonomous Azerbaijani region, whose mostly-Armenian population wants the province returned to the jurisdiction of neighboring Armenia.

But Armenian nationalist Movses Gordissyan, reached by telephone in the Armenian capital, Yerevan, said that "all the inhabitants (of Stepanakert) remained in their homes" Monday. Mr. Gordissyan added that "70 per cent of workers" at the ERAZ car factory in Yerevan had staged a "day-long" sympathy strike with residents of Stepanakert Friday. But a journalist of the daily KOMMUNIST in the Armenian capital said Tuesday that all plants in the town had worked normally Friday and ever since.

Mr. Gordissyan said that he had been freed overnight Sunday, after being arrested with three other militants on March 24. One of the four, Paruir Airikyan, was still being held in a KGB (Soviet political police) cell, Mr. Gordissyan said. Mr. Airikyan, who has been providing foreign journalists with information on the recent unrest in the Caucasian republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, has been indicted for "propagating false news and anti-Soviet slander." The leader of the Union for National Self-Determination, who gave a news conference to foreign correspondents on March 22, now faces a possible three years in prison.

The other two Armenian militants, Gevork Mirzoyan and Mekhak Gabrielyan, have also been released, the former soon after his arrest and the latter last week. Mr. Gordissyan added that—contrary to previous reports obtained from dissidents in Moscow—neither he nor Mr. Gabrielyan had faced charges.

The Moscow press made no reference Tuesday to the situation in Stepanakert, a town of 35,000 people, which has been paralyzed by strikes since central authorities late last month rejected the calls for the return of the province to Armenia. Nagorno-Karabakh, where 75 per cent of the total 160,000 population are Armenian, was transferred to Azerbaijan under Soviet dictator Josef Stalin in 1923.

Students at Yerevan University refused to attend courses Monday in protest at an attack on Mr. Airikyan in the Communist Party daily PRAVDA, Mr. Gordissyan said. Petitions calling for Mr. Airikyan's release have gathered "hundreds of signatures," the militant added, and a rally in his support at Yerevan's Lenin Place had been called for Thursday. Some 700 people had already demonstrated in the square for half an hour on Saturday, Mr. Gordissyan went on, following earlier rallies on March 28 which had been swiftly broken up by police.

Mr. Gordissyan added that the number of soldiers patrolling the streets of the Armenian capital had dropped over the past few days. Correspondents in Moscow were able to reach Yerevan by automatic telephone lines Tuesday, as a previous blackout on direct communications was lifted.

Meanwhile Tuesday, journalists here saw a copy of a letter sent by Lithuanian dissidents to the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Soviet Union, demanding that it give satisfaction to the Armenian nationalist claims. The letter, signed by human rights militant Niele Sadunaite and several priests, also called for the immediate release of Mr. Airikyan.

Soviet officials have said that 34 people died and some 250 were injured in clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis last month. To meet the threat of renewed disorder, the authorities have dissolved the Armenian nationalist committees in Nagorno-Karabakh and Yerevan and ordered measures to boost the region's economy.

Azerbaijani Poet Deplores Events in Sumgait

PM311547 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by Bakhtiyar Vagabzade, Azerbaijan People's Poet and USSR State Prize Winner: "The United Must Not Be Divided..."]

[Text] Baku—It is surely no exaggeration to say that the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh worry and alarm not only my fellow countrymen but also all Soviet people. I cannot stop thinking about what happened in Sumgait. When I think about the outrages and pogroms which occurred here, a picture comes to my mind, a picture of that wise Azerbaijani woman Khuraman Abbasova. Ah, would that she could have been there to lay at the feet of those angry men the scarf which, by tradition, has the power to avert fratricidal strife!

History has ordained that we people of different nationalities are all part of a single family and must, are obliged to observe the rules of propriety accepted in our common Soviet home. The greatness of our socialist state is primarily due to the fact that the interests of all the nationalities and ethnic groups here merge into a single stream. And we must give a principled assessment of everything which does not promote the unity of our peoples but, on the contrary, helps to alienate them and encourages strife between nationalities. It must be remembered that we are part of a whole, we have no "seniors" or "juniors" here, and in the large family of the peoples all are equal.

Some leaders now, clearly wishing to shirk responsibility, want to reduce strained relations between nations almost to a pathological hostility which they claim has existed between Azerbaijanis and Armenians since time immemorial. Nonsense! These are two peoples who have lived in peace and been friends for ages. Our harmony has never been clouded by hostility. For convincing evidence of that just go the bookshelf and leaf through the Azerbaijani Dastan—the national epic story which tells of the love of the Armenian beauty Asli and the Azerbaijani Kerem, or delight in the masterpieces of the great Armenian poet Sayat Nova, many of whose works were written in the Azeri tongue.

We often speak about historical consciousness now. Yes, the lessons of the past must be remembered and studied. Not those, I think, which bring to mind mutual disputes and insults or which sow seeds of distrust and prejudice between the fraternal peoples. For the sake of mutual friendship it is far more important to recall the glorious moments in our common history, to realize the need for respect and tolerance toward one another. I shudder every time I read the words of the 19th century Azerbaijani poetess Ashug Peri on the death of the Armenian poet and public figure M. Madatov. Those lines contain so much sincere feeling and respect for Madatov's personality and creative work that they are like a requiem and a paean to a friendship which does not end with the man's death.

The well known scientist Academician P. Azizbekova, granddaughter of one of the leaders of the 26 Baku commissars, told me recently that when Soviet power was restored in Azerbaijan and the remains of the illustrious sons of our fraternal peoples were brought back from the Turkmen steppe, no one thought of distinguishing between the ashes of Stepan Shaumyan, Alesha Dzhaparidze, Ivan Fioletov, or other revolutionaries. They all rest in the same grave—in the memorial square named for the 26 Baku Commissars. This sacred place in Baku is perceived as a symbol of our unity and of Soviet internationalism.

No, when I speak about community and about what unites us I am not at all advocating uniformity or the absence of national identity. Friendship is a flower of many brilliant complementary colors. They enrich our life and contribute their national color to the rich palette of our feelings. And when people try to exploit them and give free rein to their emotions, disregarding reason, no good can come of this.

During these alarming days, when many writers, scientists, social figures, and people of different nationalities have been commenting in the newspapers and on radio and television about the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh, I asked myself the question: Why do the fine words and shining examples not strike home, so to speak? I believe that the problem lies in inert thinking, whereby we try to shape internationalist consciousness and culture of relations between nationalities by means of outmoded stereotypes and familiar forms and methods of propaganda. But rather than dealing in commonplaces and platitudes, is it not better to think how to strengthen our relations and how to soothe the emotions which have flared up out of control? Clearly, there are leaders who are generally afraid of going out to meet people because they simply have nothing to say to them.

To be blunt, there has been a great dearth of impassioned writing and vital contact with the people by party workers. More than once I have seen "orators" who were incapable of capturing an audience and of understanding how to find the necessary words to reach people's hearts and minds. It is not so easy to find them now—words have been devalued by those who until recently engaged in phrasemongering and prated from public platforms during the period of the personality cult and the years of stagnation. We still remember the years when writers, poets, and journalists would weave lavish patterns of words, loud phrases, and slogans and seek artistic means of expression so as to portray almost as geniuses some minor functionary, conformist, or ordinary civil servant occupying a high post through the whim of chance. We have much work to do to restore the people's trust in the word and to achieve true glasnost which can really stir the heart.

You can't help thinking of the great poet's idea that words—even the most important ones—become familiar and thus lose their sheen, like an old garment. Nowhere is insincerity more striking than in poetry and literature.

But during those anxious days I heard words which averted disaster. In February I was in Agdama, a town on the border with the NKAO, where conflicts suddenly began to flare up between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. I saw a gray-haired old man urging people to show pity and be calm. He recalled incidents from his own difficult life and quoted the ancient Oriental sages. An angry man is a madman. You must not give in to emotions or be guided by the primitive philosophy of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Let your anger subside, he said, and you will realize the utter absurdity and ridiculousness of your actions.

...Two angry crowds driven to extremes are rushing toward each other. Entreaties, threats, and warnings are of no further use. Just a short while now and a senseless battle will begin, the blood of brothers will flow, and irreparable harm will be done. Just then, when the young people were only a few meters apart, an old Azerbaijani woman appeared. She jumped up onto a car, took her scarf from her head, and threw it at the feet of the angry men. And a miracle happened—no one dared to step over the scarf or disobey the woman. People stepped back, calmed down, and went home. The last to leave was Hero of Socialist Labor Khuraman Abbasova, chairman of the Lenin kolkhoz....

Now, as I recall that selfless deed, I want to address both my fellow Armenians and Azerbaijanis and, in particular, those people whose lives were possibly saved by Khuraman-Khanum. Let us collect the necessary resources and use our money to build a monument on that spot to the woman who achieved the impossible. Reason triumphed. Agreement was reached where very recently emotions were in turmoil.

I witnessed that miracle in Agdama and to this day that wise old woman appears before my eyes in the unfading brilliance of our ancient epics. I honestly admit that I used to believe that such things were possible only in ancient legends, I did not know that this form of conduct had firmly embedded itself in the people's consciousness.... Now I have seen for myself that even in an extremely tense situation, the people are capable of maintaining their composure and self-control.

That is why I just cannot understand the events in Sumgait. The most regrettable thing is that the city's leaders considered it an international one and therefore quite fortunate. We still refer to Sumgait as Komsomolsk-on-the-Caspian. It is a little over 30 years old. At one time young people came from all parts of the country to build it. Representatives of various nationalities are living and working there now, too. So why did outrages, violence, and crime occur there of all places, in what is apparently an international city?

You only have to walk along the streets to see for yourself that there is no shortage of placards or slogans proclaiming fraternity and friendship of the peoples. But here is a lamentable and strange example for you of how words differ from deeds. Sumgait is really international in the composition of its population but not in its spirit. It is a pity that there was no elder or courageous woman there to bar the way of the angry crowd.

...Had such a woman been there at those difficult moments, I do not know whether the crowd would have faded away before her or whether it would have trampled her unsullied scarf into the mud. But the tragedy, in my view, is that those people (hard though it is to call them people!) had no spirituality and that mutual relations in this human conglomerate were not imbued with the true light of culture, tradition, or friendship of the peoples. There you have it, man not humanized by civilization, a slave to unbridled passions, truly terrifying.

The other day I was a guest of my friends, the Gadzhiyevs. Eldar Gadzhiyev is an Azerbaijani. His wife Lida-Khanum is an Armenian. They are both journalists. They lead a harmonious life. Their little son (6 months old) has a broad smile and bright eyes. The young couple are very alarmed by the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and Sumgait. They are particularly afraid for their child. They even devised a hiding place for him—just in case.

I am by nature an optimist, but when I learned about that my heart became heavy and pained. How can we separate the inseparable, recarve and remake that which was interwoven long ago and has become indivisible and one?... Is the little boy to live in fear simply because the blood of two neighboring peoples flows in his veins? Is it so hard to understand that we need one another?

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Aktiv Conference

LD262044 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Among today's events is the scientific and practical conference of the party aktiv of Leningrad and the oblast. Ways of renewing the ideological work of party organizations in conditions of democratization and the radical economic reform were analyzed. Its participants, staff of obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms of the CPSU, scientists and cultural workers, noted that the ideological provision of restructuring, strengthening the party's authority, and its links with the masses are among the very important tasks set communists by the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The intensifying processes of democratization and glasnost and the acceleration of the human factor are persistently demanding new approaches to work with people. However, the speakers stressed, in the conditions that have emerged, certain party committees have been found to be detached onlookers and have not been able to find effective forms and methods of political leadership. An indepth study of public opinion is taking place at present, which is already being taken into account in the drafting of party decisions. At the conference the program of renewal for the ideological work of the Leningrad party organization was discussed.

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, took part in the work of the conference.

Biryukova Tours Tbilisi Enterprises

PM251455 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "Meetings With Tbilisi Labor Collectives"]

[Text] All Soviet Georgia's achievements in its socioeconomic development are associated with the name of the great Lenin and the implementation of Ilich's behests under the leadership of the party he created. Today the republic's working people, who are actively participating in the renewal and democratization of society and implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, still check their actions against Lenin.

On 15 March A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Tbilisi, came to the square named for the leader of the revolution and laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin. She was accompanied by Comrades D.I. Patiashvili, V.I. Alavidze, G.A. Anchabadze, P.G. Gilashvili, A.N. Inauri, G.D. Mgeladze, B.V. Nikolskiy, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, N.A. Chitanava, and N.R. Sadzhaya; V.K. Makeyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector; and I.G. Gritsenko, USSR deputy minister of light industry.

Only recently work "for the warehouse" was the usual thing at Tbilisi's "Isani" Footwear Production Association. Products which were known not to be in demand filled not only warehouses but also premises for different purposes—communal rooms and shop red corners, for example. Of course, many members of the collective did not want to tolerate that situation, but they displayed implacability in various ways. Some, including highly-skilled foremen, handed in their notice and left tne enterprise, while others stayed at their work places and strove for changes both in production affairs and in the social sphere.

This professional patriotism has proved a reliable support for the enterprise's new leadership under conditions of the switch to progressive management methods. Today it is already possible to speak of the first positive changes: During last year alone above-normative finished product remainders fell to the tune of almost R3.5 million, and there was a drop in the number of complaints. The enterprise is constructing housing for the first time in 10 years. Compared with the past, the collective has something to feel satisfied with. And the return of approximately 100 skilled workers to the association is the best proof of this.

A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, began familiarizing herself with the enterprise in the "No 1 Shop," as production workers refer to the dining room. Among the recent innovations the workers pointed to the convenience of the ordering desk and the creation of a convenience foods section and their own confectionery store and tone [as published, meaning unknown]. Incidentally, the bakery, which is already renowned for the quality of its "shoti-puri," has been organized by a cooperative with the trade union committee's support.

More attention has begun to be devoted to improving working conditions at the enterprise. Thus, the equipment in the reconstructed cutting shop is being modernized—it has already increased labor productivity but has not yet provided a full guarantee of the finished product's quality. The workers themselves, who have lost out appreciably on bonus payments, spoke about this with concern. "All That Is Best For Children"—this slogan greets you on entering the shop where children's footwear is made. However, an inspection of the finished product resulted in a sad assessment: It is made carelessly. No comparison with experimental models.

The fact that the retooling of production at the enterprise is inadequately backed up by better labor organization and stronger technological and executive discipline was obvious in many shops. Despite assistance from Hungarian colleagues in renewing equipment and introducing new technology, there has been no substantial improvement in the quality of the end product. It is necessary not only to utilize the material fruits of cooperation but also to learn to run things rationally and utilize the useful experience of related enterprises, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out.

After inspecting the production, A.P. Biryukova met with the association's leadership and labor collective council. Attention centered on questions of ensuring the products' good quality and bringing them into line with the best Soviet models and with consumer demand.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary then visited the association's kindergarten. There, a building with an original layout houses cozy dormitories, a music room, and a swimming pool.

A.P. Biryukova visited the "Irida" Cooperative Fashion Salon. Recently housed on the first floor of a new building on A. Tsereteli Avenue, it has already become popular among the residents and guests of the republic's capital.

...The cooperative took its name from Iris—the ancient Greek goddess of the rainbow. Young models displayed items from the spring range of clothes created there. Coats, raincoats, suits, elegant dresses, sweaters, and pullovers—whoever acquires them can rest assured that the item is a unique embodiment of the creative imagination of graduates of Tbilisi Academy of Arts.

The salon has been opened under the "Tbilindodezhda" Association, which has leased the necessary equipment to the cooperative and supplied the fittings. But production itself has not lost out either—it takes into consideration the volume of sales of cooperative output. And this is in demand. Approximately 150 styles worth R30,000 have been sold during "Irida's" 6-week existence.

"The prices of our products are quite high," Cooperative Chairman Khatuna Dzhaparidze said. "This is because we are forced to buy the fabrics mainly in other cities around the country. However, we hope soon to set up contacts with Tbilisi enterprises too."

The CPSU Central Committee secretary evaluated highly the quality of the products and the inventiveness and taste of their creators and noted the important role of cooperatives in developing the economy and satisfying consumer demand more fully.

The labor rhythm of Tbilisi's "Gldani" Knitwear Production Association is now filled with special content. At a recent general meeting of the collective the knitwear workers adopted a pledge to produce above the plan particularly fashionable products and products with the "N" index worth R300,000 before the opening of the 19th all-union party conference. Approximately 150 workers supported the initiative of the country's foremost collectives to fulfill the targets for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan by that portentous date. The foundations for achieving the planned aim are already being laid. The best assistance here comes from the new methods of management—economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, under whose conditions the association has now been working for more than a year.

During the visit to the enterprise by A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, there was a frank and businesslike discussion of the association's progress in implementing the radical economic reform and enhancing the role of labor collectives and their councils in resolving economic and social questions. Showing an interest in people's working and living conditions, the questions of housing and feeding them, and the organization of leisure, she emphasized the need to develop the social sphere in every possible way. Because concern for the person and a solicitous attitude to his everyday needs not only put people in a better mood but also, in the final analysis, influence the economic growth of production.

Much has been done in the association in this area in recent years. The "Gvirila" Kindergarten has been opened, and a Pioneer camp operates during the school vacations. The network of consumer projects has been extended.

The theme of everyone's responsibility at his work place was the chief topic in the CPSU Central Committee secretary's conversation with the enterprise aktiv in the movie theater. A.P. Biryukova drew attention to the need to make fuller use of the opportunities provided by the economic reform being carried out in the country and to make an active search for reserves for increasing the production potential and improving the quality and extending the range of products, particularly for young people.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary was accompanied this day by Comrades D.I. Patiashvili, V.I. Alavidze, G.A. Anchabadze, and O.Ye. Cherkeziya; V.K. Makeyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector; and I.G. Gritsenko, USSR deputy minister of light industry.

In the evening A.P. Biryukova and the republic's leaders attended a concert in the Great Hall of the Georgian State Philharmonic Society.

Vlasov Writes on Perestroyka, Crime Rate

LD260932 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 26 TASS—Activities of the interior affairs agencies of the USSR are closely linked with political, economic, social and moral aspects of perestroyka, writes Minister of the Interior of the USSR Aleksandr Vlasov in his article "Standing on Guard of Law and Order", in the latest issue of the journal KOMMUNIST.

He writes that the stagnant phenomena of the 1970s-1980s led to ugly negative processes, also within agencies of the Ministry of the Interior which found themselves above criticism. "As many as 161,000 employees were dismissed in a period from 1983 to 1985 for violation of law and order, for their being unable to attend to their duties". "The process of renewal of the top echelon is now under way, an efficient reserve is being formed for promotion. The unwarranted centralization in giving assignments has been eliminated", the author writes.

Perestroyka and democratization, consolidation of the principles of social justice, the author underlines, told on the crime rate. The total number of registered crimes went down in the past two years. Most significant was a cut in the number of grave crimes, including killings and hooliganism.

Drunkenness-associated crimes reduced by 40 per cent over the past three years. The number of people brought to responsibility for alcoholism-associated offences in 1986 went down by 4.8 million (by a third) and last year—by another million. The public opinion poll which has been held shows that the absolute majority of the population of the USSR approve of the stronger measures against drunkards.

Meanwhile the author points to a high crime rate in a number of regions of the USSR. The cause of concern is the growth of female crime rate. "If ten years ago its share in the over-all crime rate was 12 per cent, it is now 22 per cent".

The drug addiction problem remains acute, the article says. On the books in the USSR are 130,000 persons using drugs, 52,000 of them are drug-addicts. Besides, in the country there are 22,000 glue sniffers. 62 per cent of the registered drug addicts are persons at the age of under 30, 12 per cent are women.

Yagodin Discusses Changes in Schooling System

LD262023 Moscow World Service in English
0310 GMT 26 Mar 88

[Text] A short while ago the Soviet news media reported three government organizations responsible for national education had been closed down. Two ministries and one state committee have been replaced by a single National Committee for People's Education. The new body will tackle the problems connected with secondary school education, skilled workers' training at vocational schools, and specialist training at colleges and universities.

Our reporter (Vitaliy Mikhayev) has approached the head of the new committee, Gennadiy Yagodin, a former minister of higher and secondary specialized education, and asked him why a single government organization had been set up to coordinate all aspects of national education.

[Begin recording] [Yagodin in Russian with superimposed English translation] The revolution in science and technology has set specific tasks before the national education system. These tasks require a reform in both the forms and methods of teaching. Specifically, we are planning to abandon the drive towards a compulsory secondary education for all. If a young man or a girl wants to learn certain skills and become a high-class worker, it's only to be welcomed, of course. The nationwide network of vocational schools will serve the purpose. Our major goal is to mold both the secondary and vocational school students into clever and well-educated people.

[(Mikhayev)] And what changes will be introduced into the higher schools?

[Yagodin] The current methods of teaching are lagging behind the present-day demand; let's face it. Our task is to promote a creative approach to education. Central attention is to be given to independent activities of the students. The number of lectures should be slashed, with a view to giving the students a better chance to study in libraries, reading rooms and at home. And, of course, we'll take steps to radically improve the technical equipment of school and college laboratories. [end recording]

Customs Officials Outline Relaxed Regulations

PM281443 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with F. Gorin and V. Draganov, deputy chiefs of the Main Administration of State Customs Control under the USSR Council of Ministers; L. Lozbenko, chief of the External Relations Administration; and N. Lyutov, deputy chief of the Operations Administration, by TASS observer Viktor Ponomarev under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Customs Control: New Regulations"; date and place not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Our interlocutors are senior officials of the Main Administration of State Customs Control [GUGTK] under the USSR Council of Ministers—F. Gorin and V. Draganov, deputy chiefs of the GUGTK; L. Lozbenko, chief of the External Relations Administration; and N. Lyutov, deputy chief of the Operations Administration.

[Ponomarev] What can someone crossing the USSR state border bring with him and in what quantity?

[Gorin] The basic principle for admitting things through customs is now fundamentally different from what it was in the recent past. We used to say: You may bring in what does not exceed personal requirements. But what are these requirements? Where does the limit lie? The customs officer alone used to determine this for everyone. It turned out that he usurped the right to decide what someone needs and in what quantity. And conflict situations used to arise every day....

[Draganov] Or consider another scene, for example. A sea captain who takes ships on long voyages tries to find out why it is prohibited to bring in certain things. It is explained to him that there is a speculative demand for them on our "black market." In other words, you, Comrade Captain, are a potential speculator and rogue. The worst was always suspected. Yet practice shows that only a mere handful deliberately intend to violate customs regulations for criminal purposes. Nevertheless, people sought to regulate "everything that is forbidden." So all the former regulations, particularly the mail regulations, were full of a minute, detailed account of how much of what was permitted to whom.... We imposed restrictions on literally everyone! Prohibitive norms were introduced without analysis, after one or two cases. Practice demonstrated not only their groundlessness but also their harm from both the legal and the moral viewpoints.

[Lozbenko] You know, a limitation on the quantity of goods does not work. Whoever wishes to sell something imported will do so even if he has only the permitted minimum....

[Lyutov] In addition, people bring in things, as a rule, which simply cannot be obtained at home: They do not exist. Do we have the right to prohibit someone from obtaining what we ourselves cannot provide him with?

[Draganov] In this connection, I recall an affair involving "shopping bags." Some 15 years ago a novelty was brought to us in vast quantities from Rotterdam and Antwerp—bright, convenient polyethylene shopping bags. People in Estonia at once realized the demand and organized their production, and the "shopping bag" influx dried up. Competition from abroad stimulated production....

[Gorin] Duties? We struggled for a long time to make them work for the state without infringing the rights and interests of citizens. For things had reached the point where the duty on a number of goods had reached 300 (!) percent. Yet, as soon as the duty is increased, the state's revenue... falls. There is nothing strange about this: People no longer find it advantageous. We realized that the duty must primarily be lower than the value of the items. It is ideal if it does not exceed 30 or even 20 percent.

[Lyutov] The interests of the customs and of the millions of people crossing the border had come into conflict. In addition, we had gotten bogged down in "trifles" which diverted forces away from the struggle against socially dangerous kinds of smuggling, as well as creating a breeding ground for "ostentation." A new approach was needed, a new look at all these problems.

[Gorin] This work began as soon as we became independent. Common sense prevailed: The overwhelming majority are not cheats but honest people. They do not bring prohibited objects over the border or violate the regulations. Consequently, it is both absurd and illegal to lodge claims against them or infringe their interests. It follows from this that they can bring in without hindrance everything they have bought or received as a gift. The chief condition is that everything must have been paid for in legally obtained currency (if this concerns imports) and be destined for personal use. As for exports, anything can be exported that has not been taken out of civilian circulation in the USSR.

[Lozbenko] We began introducing this approach to customs policy without waiting for the new Customs Code to be drawn up. Its regulations are still in effect, but individual instructions have already abolished certain norms. It had been permitted, for example, to let through gifts costing no more than R100. We have raised the value to R500 for our citizens and guests from socialist countries, and to R300 for citizens of other countries. The restrictions on exporting gold items, under which 5 items costing up to R250 were permitted, have been lifted.

Many complaints had been occasioned by the procedure for compulsorily returning to the country articles taken out by people going abroad to work. As though those things might not have become worthless with time! All the same, you had to get permission to leave them abroad. This resulted in tedious red tape, tangled accounting, and misunderstandings. We have abolished that norm. We are not interested in what has happened to a citizen's personal things. That is his business.... Starting with such partial but urgent changes, we have finally completed the radical reform of the customs regulations, which we hope will effectively influence the processes of restructuring and democratizing society.

[Ponomarev] What will these changes bring us that is new, and in what way will we find them pleasing? There has been a particularly large number of questions relating to motor vehicles.

[Gorin] An instruction has been adopted on the procedure for importing and exporting motor vehicles, spare parts, and accessories. This is how they will be let through. Our citizens working abroad have the right to import one vehicle and a trailer or trailer home for it, as well as a motor, an engine, an axle, and so forth. The regime is 20 percent of the prescribed rate of customs duty.

[Lyutov] I must elucidate. The importation of a car with a working cylinder volume of up to 1,300 cubic centimeters, for example, would cost the owner R6,500 at a rate of R5 per cubic centimeter. We will take just 20 percent of that sum. Is there a difference? The duty on nonmotive means—trailers, semitrailers, and trailer homes—has been reduced by a factor of 10. Whereas previously the rate was 200 percent of the price, it is now only 20 percent. There is no duty on the spare parts for them, while assemblies and units are at the currently existing norms.

[Draganov] Incidentally, all this can now be a gift, too. A relative has only to see to the notarial certification of the gift. We will let the vehicle into the USSR with everything pertaining to it, with customs duty being levied at

50 percent of the prescribed rate for a vehicle of a foreign marque, and without any duty on a Soviet-made vehicle. No duty is levied on the exportation of vehicles of any marque.

[Gorin] Another special feature: If a worker of a Soviet establishment abroad has used a vehicle of a foreign marque also for official purposes, for which there is a certificate, a 10-percent duty will be levied on its importation. We will let through a vehicle of a foreign marque without duty if it has been bought from a Soviet establishment.

[Lyutov] It must be borne in mind that a vehicle is imported on these preferential terms only for personal use. The owner may sell it within 4 years only with customs permission and with additional payment of duty up to the full level—in this case the vehicle becomes a commodity. After 4 years these conditions cease.

[Ponomarev] There have also been many complaints about importing domestic electronic and other equipment. How do things stand here?

[Gorin] When the new regulations have been confirmed, you may import such things duty-free. But only one item per passenger: sound-recording and playing equipment and television, radio, or other equipment. If you have a child who is 2 years old, he has the same rights. It will soon also be permitted to let through video apparatus, microcomputers, and computer equipment regardless of the purposes of trips. Only the principle of personal use remains in force.

As for exports... You are on a long business trip, for example. You may take a piano. We used to prohibit power saws, planes, drills, and so forth. Those bans have been lifted. I repeat that you can take anything that has not been taken out of civilian circulation.

[Ponomarev] And no norms set?

[Draganov] We have emphasized: It must fit the criteria of personal use. If a tourist goes to Prague in summer, what need has he of a fur coat? Or, for example, a washing machine for a week? To be serious, we must note another important innovation: It is permitted to transfer gifts "on spec": without the duty previously levied, if the transfer is confirmed by the sender's leader. Without such confirmation, you will agree, it is hard to determine whether you really are sending a gift or flooding the market. It is a small restriction to have to obtain a certificate. The same also applies to transfers from the USSR. We want to make this procedure the rule so that people know that this is possible.

[Ponomarev] Serious complaints have appeared in the press with regard to things sent by mail. Is anything changing?

[Lyutov] There really were many farfetched norms and restrictions. For example, 200 grams of tea. And no more! If there were 300 grams in a packet, we would return it. We recommended the customs not to resort to such measures and to be sure to inform the main administration of every instance of something being returned.

It will be possible to send practically everything, and there will be almost no restrictions left, with the exception of carriers of computer information, all types of video recordings, and foodstuffs. It is also permitted to send religious objects, as well as Bibles, Korans, and so forth. There is a proviso with regard to exporting them—the permission of the Ministry of Culture is needed, so that things of historical and artistic value do not leave us. A norm has also been set for disks—15 disks.

[Ponomarev] Why not 10 or 20?

[Draganov] We have taken practice into account. We have increased the norm fivefold, proceeding from the fact that the largest number of packages contained just this number. Moreover, many of the norms being set are to some extent of an experimental nature. The norm will cease to be a dogma which cannot be overstepped. The main administration has the right to decide this.

[Ponomarev] Why does the mail get through so inadmissibly slowly—"Christmas parcels" handed over in March and April?

[Draganov] A fair question. We are now reworking the customs and mail technology, and we want to computerize the processes. We cooperate here with the Ministry of Communications. We have agreed with Deputy Minister Ye. Manyakin that each of us personally will monitor the state of the work. The situation really is intolerable.

[Ponomarev] About glasnost. People frequently do not know what is possible at the border and what is impossible....

[Draganov] An important remark. We favor full glasnost. The customs used to have regulations, and there were commentaries on them for official use only. They contained things which people did not know about. A mass of problems arose. Such backstage commentaries must not exist! We will impart an open [glasnyy] nature to the regulations. If a passenger is doubtful about something, the inspector is obliged to show him the basic document.

[Gorin] The question of decriminalizing offenses is also directly linked with this. Previously, for example, a person failed to indicate a trifle in a declaration. Not deliberately—he forgot, for example, about the ring on his finger. Yet this was grounds both for instituting proceedings on a charge of smuggling and for confiscating objects and entailed serious unpleasantnesses along official and party lines. We are now getting away from the concept of "administrative smuggling." "Violation of customs regulations" will emerge—which by its legal nature does not entail serious consequences... The inspector will make a remark and correct the passenger's mistake. If intent is exposed, the customs chief will fine the violator on the spot.

[Draganov] Criminally indictable smuggling and its socially dangerous forms are another matter. Harmful consequences are the criterion here. Naturally, there remains a range of objects whose conveyance and sending across the border are prohibited. These are, above all, prohibited by the Geneva Convention: firearms and narcotic, radioactive, explosive, highly inflammable, and poisonous substances. In addition, the importation of ideologically harmful literature, movies, video recordings, and so forth is of significance for us and our friends from socialist countries.

[Lozbenko] Restrictions remain on the importation of radioelectronic equipment, high-frequency and two-way devices, radio stations, and copying and duplicating equipment.

[Ponomarev] This also applies to "xeroxes." But many of the cooperatives now being set up are extremely interested in obtaining this equipment....

[Lyutov] These are public organizations. They resolve these questions with the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. In general, for the information of cooperatives, it may be said that we will let through objects necessary for their operation if they are a gift from relatives living abroad. The "Gamma" cooperative in Tashkent, for example, put such a request to us. It was being sent radio and video apparatus from the United States. We will let this airfreight through and hand it over to the cooperative after payment of duty. But this is a special subject for discussion.

'Persecution' of Orthodox Church Examined

AU281300 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 20 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by Candidate of Philisophical Sciences A. Rotovskyy: "In Clerical Blinders"]

[Excerpts] What has aroused the growing public interest in the history of our homeland, particularly in its dramatic periods? While looking into the past, we try to better comprehend the causes of our present problems and to find ways to solve them.

But what are clerical radio voices abroad looking for in our history? How can one explain the prolific appearance in the West of the "studies" of the history of the church at the early stage of Soviet rule, in the period of Stalin's personality cult, and in later times? "Voice of America," BBC, and "Liberty" have for a lengthy time been broadcasting about the martyrdom of clergymen from "Bolshevik violence," and serials dedicated to the millenium of the introduction of Christianity in Rus.

The ideological motif common to those broadcast reports on "reprisals against the clergy," the "demolition of churches," and "sacrilegious mockery" is: The struggle against religion and the church was for the Bolsheviks allegedly the main goal of the revolution, and the believers have always been regarded as the enemies of socialism. The conclusion that follows is: Since Orthodoxy allegedly embodies the people's spirituality, the struggle against religion was equivalent to the struggle against the people themselves, against their culture.

What is the answer to allegations of this kind? One could say simply: They contradict the truth. But such a statement, fundamentally correct, still would be insufficient. It does not disclose the details of acts committed by clerical falsifiers of history. To analyze them critically, let us have a look, to start with, at the causes of the persecution of some representatives of the clergy by the Soviet authorities during the Civil War.

Indeed, at those times quite a few Orthodox clergymen were tried by revolutionary tribunals. On this subject all kinds of emigre Orthodox anti-Soviet organizations continue to shed tears.

Let us, therefore, recollect the concrete circumstances of that period. The Orthodox Church in the person of its hierarchy was an active counterrevolutionary force. Orthodox priests in the White Army held the ranks of officers. In defending the foundations of the past, they defended their privileges: After all, in Tsarist Russia Orthodoxy was the state religion.

This fact has been admitted by clericalists themselves. [passage omitted]

But how can one explain, a sceptic would ask, the demolition and mass closure of churches in the pre-war period, the administrative excesses in state church relations? After all, that was done formally on behalf of atheism and under the slogan of anti-religious propaganda....

What sets history in motion are not theories by themselves, but people with their ideas about these theories, with their social experience, their likes and and dislikes. [passage omitted] Relentless maximalism in the period of clearing the site for the construction of a new bright future is characteristic of any revolution. Is it so strange that the gale of the revolution had also affected the church as the former ideological substantiation of tsarism? [passage omitted]

There were also other motives for unlawful acts by local authorities with regard to the church and its clergy. The period of Stalin's personality cult was characterisic of violent revelries and repressions which hit all classes of the population, and first of all the leading party, economic, and military apparatus. Under the slogan of the absolutely erroneous "theory" alleging that the class struggle tended to intensify in the process of developing socialist relations, thousands of fighters against autocracy and counterrevolution were annihilated, the best sons of the party. It goes without saying, that quite a few honest citizens from among the clergy suffered under these circumstances. Under the conditions of espionage mania and suspicions exalted by trials of the "enemies of the people" to the proportions of a mass psychosis, anonymous denunciations were also made against adherents of religious ideology, and the more so against representatives of the clergy.

But the point of principled importance is: people adherent to various ideologies, sentenced without any guilt, served their sentences in the same concentration camps and special settlements. When in common trouble, communists and priests helped each other. [passage omitted] This was an all-people's, national tragedy, and not a tragedy of the church, of the believers alone, as the present clerical propaganda is trying to portray it. [passage omitted]

Let us sum up what has been said. The history of the Orthodox Church of Rus with all its contradictions is part and parcel of the general history of the people. The introduction of Christianity had a positive impact on the development of Kievan Rus. Having cemented the new statehood of ancient Rus ideologically by the strength of Christian blessing to the power of the prince, Orthodoxy closely linked its destiny with feudalism, to turn eventually into a screw in the Tsarist state machine. This finish was quite natural. [passage omitted]

We regard restructuring as a revolution. The tasks which must be accomplished by the Soviet people in all spheres of life are of revolutionary proportions indeed. On what does the success of this enterprise depend? To a significant extent, it depends not only on our declaration, but also real unity, on our faith in the feasibility of the plans. We atheists and believers attentively look into our dramatic history to make this unity and this faith even stronger, because our history and our future are common.

The attempts by the clericals abroad to "tear" the people's history into a "history of believers" and a "history of atheists" are equivalent to the futile efforts to break their unity in the struggle for their common future.

Ukrainian Procurator Urges Fight Against Theft

AU280811 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 Mar 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office"]

[Text] Whereas it is important to eradicate petty theft that causes significant losses in the economy, the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs have organized checkups on the observance of legislation concerning the struggle against these negative phenomena in the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and Ministry of Light Industry. It has been established that petty theft is still widespread. In 1987 more than 54,000 petty thieves were detained in the meat, dairy, and food industries, and the value of goods seized from them exceeded R300,000. Nearly 6,000 shoplifters were detained at light industry enterprises, with commodities worth about R60,000. In Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk, Zhitomir, Zaporozhye, Lvov, Nikolayev, and Sumy oblasts and in the city of Kiev the number of such offenses was the largest.

One of the main causes of the situation lies in the absence of a comprehensive approach in the aforementioned systems, and in the insufficient use made of economic and legal measures, and of the abilities of labor collectives and the public to fight embezzlement. Enterprise leaders, shop chiefs, foremen, team leaders, and functionaries responsible for ensuring the safety of people's property on the strength of their official status are not always properly required to carry out their duty. Some of them frequently embark upon the path of embezzlement themselves. Such was the case at the Pervomaysk, the Voznesensk, and the Novaya Kakhovka meat combines, and at Chortkov confectionery. At the Zhitomir meat combine, 14 persons bearing material responsibility, including 5 storemen, were detained for stealing.

Stealing is largely facilitated by the unsatisfactory initial stocktaking of commodities, raw and other materials, and by the low level of control and audits. Some oblast meat and dairy industry associations and economic leaders do not make sufficient use of legal steps applicable to direct embezzlers or to officials who have failed to ensure the safety of goods. Last year the comradely court at the Zhitomir confectionery did not examine even one single case of petty thieving on its own initiative. At the same time, 72 enterprise workers were detained at the enterprise for these offenses. Last year the Novovolynsk Meat Combine paid bonuses to 13 workers caught for petty thieving. After intervention from the Procurator's Office, the bonuses were paid back to the enterprise.

Similar facts were disclosed at the Zhitomir and the Kiev meat combines, at Odessa Flour Mill No 1, the Simferopol Tanning and Footwear Association, the Kremenchug Footwear Factory, and others.

There are serious shortcomings in providing reliable protection against embezzlers in individual internal affairs organs and departmental guard units. Some city and rayon procurators in Dnepropetrovsk, Zhitomir, Zaporozhye, Crimean, and other oblasts, and in the city of Kiev have not ensured the appropriate control over the observance of legislation in the struggle against petty thieving, did not adequately coordinate the activity of law-enforcement organs, and have not always published the results of verification.

This issue was examined at a special interdepartmental conference in the Ukrainian SSR Procurator's Office. B.V. Vilskiy, first deputy minister of the light industry, and V.K. Solomakha, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, reported on the steps taken to fight petty thieving at enterprises subordinated to them. At the same time, law-enforcement organs, the Ukrainian Ministry of the Light Industry, and the State Agro-Industrial Committee worked out joint measures to invigorate the struggle against petty theft, and to increase the responsibility of economic leaders and, economic and juridical services for the state of the safety of socialist property. The procuratorship, internal affairs organs, and the courts have been instructed to make full use of the strength of the law to eradicate these antisocial phenomena.

Academician Explains Public Opinion Center Role

LD281242 Moscow TASS in English 1145 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 28 TASS—"A decision adopted recently in the USSR on the creation of an all-union centre for the study of public opinion on socio-economic matters is an important step on the way of the democratization of Soviet society showing the readiness of the political leaders of the country to expand a dialogue with the population and to study in detail people's requirements, views and interests", Academician Tatiana Zaslavskaya, director of the centre, said at a press conference today.

The centre was created under the USSR Central Council of Trade Unions and the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Problems. Its staff will include 180 sociologists, programmers, specialists in computer facilities and journalists. 100 of them will work at 25 branches of the centre located in all the capitals of union republics and the biggest cities of the country. A network of interviewers is being created throughout the country.

It is planned to take 18-20 public opinion polls annually, to promptly study public opinion in separate parts of the country and to regularly conduct group studies. Apart from the work carried out on the order of the founders of the centre, research will be conducted at the request of other organizations.

Acedemician Zaslavskaya said that the main tasks of the centre would be connected with the social aspects of management, work, family and the reproduction of the population, with material and cultural requirements.

"The population will be kept informed about the results of the studies, which will promote socio-political activity of people indispensable for the success of perestroyka. In the future it is planned to create other specialized centres for the study of public opinion on socio-political, international and ideological problems", Academician Zaslavskaya said.

At present major public opinion polls are taken in the USSR by the Institute of Sociological Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and the Research Centre of the Higher Komsomol School.

Treatment for Disabled Afghan Veterans Noted

LD260014 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 25 March in a regularly-scheduled newscast carries a report by (Aleksandr Tserolnikov) on the action committee of a military and patriotic association founded by "internationalist troops" who have served in Afghanistan under the Komsomol Central Committee, which has been meeting in Gorkiy Oblast. (Tserolnikov) explains that the association really got off the ground at a similar meeting in Dushanbe in November 1987 and there is much comradely feeling amongst the much-decorated servicemen who are meeting again now. They have involved young people through visits to schools and technical schools, and those young people who have come to Gorkiy will have a chance to get acquiainted with military technology and the army life and to participate in military exercises.

The leader of a "Young Paratrooper Club" then defines his main problem as getting material supplies for their activities, but the movement's real concerns lie elsewhere. (Tserolnikov) says: "One of their main concerns is for their comrades in need of treatment or other assistance. There are invalids among the internationalist troops for whom conditions need to be created so that they can work within their capabilities and lead active sociable lives. A very serious conversation about this is underway here. Here is what (Oleg Zapertov) and (Pavel Shetko) had to tell us: We will be engaged in this operation for a long time. You know, the situation isn't good everywhere, although there are positive examples as regards military hospitals. Issues have been positively resolved. Our boys have good conditions. It is worse as far as providing artificial limbs. I do think, though, that this can be dealt with."

New Book-Publishing Policy Explained

PM250945 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[D. Gorbuntsov article: "Payment for Risk"]

[Text] The routine press conference by M. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade [Goskomizdat], started...15 minutes before it was officially scheduled to open. The reason lay in the draft provision distributed to the journalists on the procedure for publishing books at writers' expense.

Some people found the proposed innovation in publishing so unacceptable that they immediately decided to share their opinions with their neighbors. Who, they said, would want to publish books out of their own pocket? Indeed, it will not be a cheap indulgence. Depending on the print run (it is currently planned to print such publications in runs of between 500 and 5,000 copies) and the size of the book it will cost approximately R2,000 or more. The draft envisages that the author of a book published in this way will not only cover all the expenditure but will earn the publisher a profit of 20 percent of the actual expenditure. So art will actually require sacrifice! And yet, it turned out, the skeptics are wrong. The draft has not yet become law, and many publishing houses have already received applications from authors willing to pay to have their books published.

Let me make one reservation: Goskomizdat, which wants to give the "go-ahead" to the new draft, is by no means proceeding from a desire to gratify hack writers, even if it is out of their own pockets. The draft is seen as a kind of alternative to cooperative publishing houses. It has been conceived with a view to further democratizing book publishing in the country and in order to discover talented new authors of artistic, sociopolitical, scientific, and technical works.

That is why a gifted person forced to publish a book at his own expense will ultimately not lose out. If his work is widely recognized by the public and is in demand it will be republished in the conventional way with the author being paid a royalty. It seems to me that the book publishers have come up with a good idea and, indeed, it should not be postponed indefinitely.

The USSR Goskomizdat already has experience of resolutely breaking with the old, outmoded forms of publishing and restructuring publishing on a democratic basis. All publishing houses, enterprises, associations, and organizations of union jurisdiction and the Goskomizdats of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Estonia switched to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing as of 1 January this year. Furthermore, the rights of publishing houses have been considerably expanded. They can now draw up and ratify their own prospectuses. They decide the questions of print runs and the size of the books they publish. The bureaucratic institution of internal reviewing has been abolished. The system for monitoring editorial activity has been simplified. Not only has it been stripped of petty tutelage, but conditions have been created for its conversion into the most important aspect of work on a book.

What will the publishers be bringing us in the near future?

The unlimited subscription for the two-volume Lermontov has just closed. Applications were received from 15.6 million people. This is a record even in comparison with the works of Pushkin and Mayakovskiy published in the same series. Another flurry of reader interest is in store—subscription for works by Yesenin and Nekrasov lies ahead.

The quick-response editorial teams set up at a number of publishing houses are starting to work more and more confidently. In the space of just 3-4 months they can produce new works that have generated a great response from readers. In this way many people have already gotten to know the books of A. Bek, D. Granin, V. Dudintsev, B. Mozhayev, A. Platonov, A. Rybakov, V. Tendryakov, and other writers. Novels by M. Bulgakov, V. Grossman, and B. Pasternak are in the pipeline.... A short political handbook—the "Medical Encyclopedia for the Family"—and handbooks on economics and Russian will soon be appearing.

Together with the USSR Academy of Sciences yet another interesting publishing program is being drawn up and will begin to be implemented in the very near future. It will familiarize readers with our national heritage—works by some of our outstanding countrymen on history, philosophy, economics, and the juridical sciences that have not been published for a long time. The "Kniga" Publishing House is bringing out a facsimile edition of "The History of the Russian State" by N. Karamzin (subscription to which will open in the second quarter). Next year this work will be published (in the conventional way) by the "Nauka" Publishing House as well.

...There are still many problems and difficulties in overcoming the shortage of books in the country. These are linked with the shortage of paper, printing equipment, and materials. The restructuring of publishing is not proceeding as quickly as one would like. But the first shoots of good changes are already evident. And beyond them lies the future.

IZVESTIYA Readers on Party Conference

PM241201 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA "From the Editorial Mail" feature consisting of readers' letters: "19th Party Conference: Tasks of Restructuring"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] The flow of letters united by one theme—thoughts about the forthcoming 19th all-union party conference—has increased in the editorial mail recently. In expressing their opinion on particular topical issues of our life, readers note that changes are far from proceeding everywhere as they would like. In imparting their proposals and doubts they are stressing the irreversibility of the changes that have been initiated in all spheres of our life and the need to defend the new against the obstacles which restructuring is encountering.

Returning Confidence [subhead]

The expression "crisis of confidence" appeared in the press once with regard to the party of which I am a member. There is no doubt that the abuses and crimes of Communists who held major state posts and lesser posts did their evil work. The passivity and apathy of many party members also helped. Among themselves they discussed everything; there was anger and castigation. But they lacked the most important thing—the courage to join the struggle for the truth, for the purity of the party ranks. I mention this not to beat my breast in remorse and seek absolution for my sins. It is something else that concerns me: Will we be able now to regain the confidence that has been lost? Are we doing everything to put an end to deceit, to excessive bureaucratic organization, to all the negative phenomena which led the country to the need for restructuring?

Of course we are far from doing everything. Another difficulty is probably the fact that many people are experiencing a sense of confusion: How do we overcome everything that has accumulated and been instilled over the years? The general provisions of work in this direction are known: economic reform, democratization, and glasnost. As for specific forms, blank areas arise here. In addition, inertia and old habits are making themselves felt everywhere. The result is that each person is keeping to himself and would be glad to help the cause, but how?

In my opinion the effectiveness of the work of primary party organizations depends largely on the personality of the party organizer. It is no secret that many party organizers are far closer to the bosses than to the masses, the people. Frequently, it is still not rank and file Communists who elect them but the bosses. Yet the party organizer is a model, an example for emulation. When he works next to me and in such a way that I cannot keep up with him, when he is the first to stay on after work to fulfill an urgent task, when we are side by side at a subbotnik, I trust him and he has the right to make demands on me. But if he is not to be found at his work place (perpetual public affairs, conferences and sessions); if, having encouraged me to stay behind for a second shift, he himself has gone home; if at a subbotnik he is the embodiment of the "staff"; then, forgive me, I do not trust him one inch and do not allow him to give me instructions. The same applies to trade union organizers and many other public figures whom the party Central Committee February plenum aptly termed "paid functionaries."

I believe the forthcoming party conference will also unfailingly discuss these questions. They are of great importance!

Yu. Solonskiy, worker, Rostov-na-donu.

Term in Power [subhead]

A question that probably does not perturb only me can be formulated as follows. It is a question involving guarantees against the personality cult and its consequences. The path which our society has traveled persuades us that scarcely have we denounced one personality cult than we create another. The past can no longer be put right, but it can and must be understood in order to draw the correct conclusions. In my view these conclusions are that the term in power of a leader of any rank should be restricted through legislation. And to ensure that there is no leap-frogging of cadres, the term should be quite adequate for him to implement his ideas or at least to put them on a firm footing. That is, of course, if they are supported by the people—and here the broad nationwide discussion of all important questions of the country's life (I have in mind referendums) should be made the rule.

Yu. Shakhtaryan, doctor, Aleksandrov, Vladimir Oblast.

Who Has the Right To Oblige the Ispolkom To Do Something [subhead]

The formula "The party obkom (gorkom, raykom) bureau has obliged the obl(gor, ray)ispolkom..." is customary and does not generate even the slightest perplexity. But why, exactly? Yes, the party is the leading force of our society. But the organs of power are the soviets of people's deputies. And you must agree that it is only the soviet session which has the right to oblige the ispolkoms to do something or not. There is no doubt that a particular party organ has the right to express its opinion on questions of importance. But how? I think the following is the only way: submitting these questions for discussion at a routine soviet session where a decision will be taken jointly and will have strictly legislative power. As for the concept of "obliging," it could be applied either to specific Communists (the oblispolkom chairman and other workers) or to the party committee of that same oblispolkom.

Now that we are seeking new paths of improving our political system, now that the task has been set of differentiating between the functions of party and state organs (they should not duplicate each other!), we should abandon customary formulas of the "oblige" type directed at an organ of state power. And of course the point here is not so much one of formulas as of the firmly entrenched practice of replacing one organ of power with another. As party Central Committee plenums have frequently stressed, it is a matter of restoring and consolidating the authority of the soviets of people's deputies, which are "the linchpin of our society's political system."

S. Vladimirov, engineer, Moscow. [passage omitted]

Only the Full Truth [subhead]

I know that the following arguments are frequently encountered today: Why, people say, are there all these exposures? After all, the past cannot be brought back or put right. There is no need to paint people black, they say (do you sense that they already have a label prepared?) We should not be afraid of the truth—either in the past or in the present. We should not be afraid that the whole truth will lead to pessimism. No one is taking our gains from us.

Moreover, only the truth will help in rooting out the phenomena that led the country to stagnation. Talking about everything openly, fully, and objectively and giving an honest, albeit bitter, analysis of errors means strengthening, in millions of people, faith in justice and in our society's ability to cleanse itself and to be cured.

Many rank and file Communists hope that the forthcoming all-union party conference will outline specific ways of defending restructuring. Against what? Against much that is impeding it today. This includes old methods of management dressed up with new slogans; it includes the powerful pressure from the command apparatus—after all many people "restructure themselves" only verbally; and it includes the absence of specific, real forms of truly popular, truly democratic, participation in the solution of state issues. Restructuring is encountering enough obstacles; we must not bypass them with compromises or silence. As the party Central Committee February plenum stressed, the more rapidly blunders are detected, the more rapidly they will be put right. We must not deviate from this course.

A. Borisov, scientific assistant, Leningrad.

Rumors Instead of Information [subhead]

We speak of glasnost and about how there should be no forbidden topics; nevertheless, there is enough secrecy. And where there is no information, rumors and misinterpretations immediately circulate. Surely this does not benefit restructuring. Many examples could be cited. For instance, in late January the local press published a Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the immediate termination of the powers of Comrade Kasyanenko, deputy of the republic's supreme soviet for Simferopol electoral okrug No 369. Why? "In connection with Comrade O.Ya. Kasyanenko's personal statement on his surrender of powers as deputy"—and that was the entire explanation. So each person has his own interpretation of the news—and what don't you hear...

We have just the same information, serving as fodder for the most diverse fabrications, in connection with the surrender of his powers as USSR Supreme Soviet deputy by Comrade Makarenko, former first secretary of the Crimean Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom. As a result, do we, as before, have a half-truth instead of the truth? Please explain to me why do we not tell everything the way it is. What are we afraid of?

Award System, Abuses Under Brezhnev Criticized

PM311430 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Mar 88 First Edition p 6

[Miroslav Buzhkevich article under the rubric "Returning to the Subject": "Award"]

[Text] A short letter, less than 100 lines of newsprint, from V. Tishchenko, published on PRAVDA's discussion page on 18 January under the heading "Who Receives an Award, and for What," has provoked a torrent of responses. There is nothing surprising about that. Yet another subject that was banned until recently has been raised, a subject on the shady side of our society's life, namely, that the procedure for presenting awards and conferring orders, medals, and Hero stars has long since become obsolete and needs revising.

"I wholly agree with V. Tishchenko," A. Bronnikov, mine controller from the settlement of Sarany in Perm Oblast, writes. "I support the author; I myself wanted to write on this subject," M. Kuzmenko responds from the village of Signal in Vinnitsa Oblast. That is the view of the majority of those who responded to the item in the newspaper. No more than 10 have disagreed with V. Tishchenko. That is all the more remarkable because as a rule people, especially those made wise by their experience of life, regard change of any kind cautiously and with a certain amount of conservatism—will it improve things? In this case nearly every letter contains concrete proposals on what should be revised, and how. And that is a sure sign that it is high time this question was raised.

Many people have been worried for many years about the devaluation, depreciation, and lowering of the prestige of state awards that is taking place before our very eyes. Mass awards have become the rule. A. Lobyntsev from Alma-Ata is not making any great revelations when he describes how the enterprise receives its allotment: so many orders and so many medals. Then the composition of the recipients has to be adapted to suit the plan handed down from above: a certain number of workers and engineers, young production workers and women, Communists and nonparty people. Not infrequently workers at the ministries and party organs "running" a given plant, construction project, or farm are added to the list. So it transpires that some of the recipients are accorded this honor not for specific successes or services, but on the basis of a questionnaire.

In this context, the following episode comes to mind. A few years ago a certain ministry was preparing for the routine presentation of awards "for results." A representative of a certain enterprise telephoned Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy and, across the whole breadth of the country, asked the director: "There are no orders left, you can take two medals for each order. Will you take them?" And nobody was surprised by this shameless attitude, this cynical attitude to holy relics as if they were some kind of marketable commodity.

The authors of the letters stress that among the recipients of awards—workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, employees—there are many who are worthy of that honor. But at the same time the responses to V. Tishchenko's letter show concern that campaigns of mass awards and their extreme formalization and overorganization not only lower the prestige of orders and medals as tokens of nationwide recognition of a working person's services. People stop believing in justice and become convinced in practice of the gulf between words and deeds. One can understand the bitter feelings expressed by N. Fedortsov of Peremyshlyany, Lvov Oblast, who writes: "We have many award recipients, yet things are going badly. In our rayon more than 600 people have been awarded orders and medals. They are mainly rural workers. But look in the stores—there is hardly a glut of butter or meat."

And the established procedure for conferring awards on senior officials and personalities in science and culture on "round dates" in their lives can hardly be justified. After all, it is pure formalism: Orders and lofty titles are handed out by virtue of your "official post." For a minister, say, the Order of Lenin, for his deputy the Labor Red Banner. "Among the people," A. Ivanov from Ulyanovsk writes, "if a ministry leader receives the 'Insignia of Honor,' everyone decides: The comrade has burned himself out, he will soon be removed. Or sent away on pension."

Interesting ideas on this subject are contained in a letter from R. Bogdanova in Vyshniy Volochek: "I hear on the television that another leader has been presented with an order on his 50th birthday. And I thought: I had a 50th birthday too, I have been working for more than one-third of a century, I have been a party member since 1963, I have had no reproaches. So why do they not give me an award? Of course, I realize that neither age nor length of service are grounds for that." And she is right. How can position or rank automatically bring orders?

People have a particularly sensitive and jealous attitude to awards to party leaders. Things like this still happen: A certain oblast is subjected to justified criticism in the central organs for laggardness in the development of agriculture or industry or slowness in tackling social problems. There are complaints from the working people and the press speaks out. But when the party obkom leader's jubilee draws near, they give him an award, which does nothing for people except to cause bewilderment and chagrin.

This is how things turn out. Working people want party leaders to be modest, principled, utterly consistent, and punctilious. In short, to try to imitate in every respect Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who did not tolerate self-praise and condemned the public glorification of his services to the revolution and our people. That is what people expect today of party and state leaders at every level. And they must not forget it. Just as they must not permit a repetition of what happened in the so-called stagnation period, which we do not like to talk about, although, as N. Kazistov of Gorkiy rightly writes, it is shameful to remember it.

In December 1966, soon after the title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred on L. Brezhnev in connection with his 60th birthday, the editorial office received a letter. Its author asked with malicious naivety what hitherto unknown facts about the recipient's personal heroism had been uncovered more than 20 years after the end of the war, which made it possible to give him the "Gold Star." At the time, nobody took any notice of this irony. If only we had known that the first Star would soon be followed by a second, then a third, and finally a fourth. The last in violation of the statute on the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, although I suppose they might have altered the statute "on the quiet," without telling anyone.

That was not the end of the unrestrained "collecting" of stars and orders. Perhaps the most stunning "achievement" was the award to L. Brezhnev of the highest military order of "Victory." The statute states that it is awarded to persons on the top military staff of the Soviet Army for the successful conduct of operations on a scale of several fronts or a single front as a result of which the situation has changed radically in favor of the Soviet Army. In his position, he could not have carried out any such operations—no such instances are recorded in Soviet military history.

And it is hardly surprising that in recent years we have experienced many bitter moments when it has emerged among those who received gold medals and orders were people who were absolutely unworthy. Let us recall, for instance, V. Dmitriyev writes from the Uzbek city of Zarafshan, Sh. Rashidov and his criminal entourage, who supplied the country's textile enterprises with cotton mixed with garbage.

Or, let us add, that same Yu. Churbanov who was elevated to the upper stories of the state hierarchy mainly on the basis of kinship ties. Through the efforts of toadies, his chest was covered in awards. Yet when the Great Patriotic War began, he was 5 years old, and, as the saying goes, knee-high to a grasshopper. He spent all his adult life basically moving from office to office, where, naturally, heroic feats are not generally accomplished. But on the 30th anniversary of victory he was presented with the Order of the Red Star. Later, when the limited contingent of Soviet troops went into Afghanistan to fulfill their international duty, Yu. Churbanov went there. However, he did not fight the dushmans or lead troops into battle. Yet he received the combat Order of the Red Banner as his due. Now, according to a report from the USSR Prosecutor's Office, Yu. Churbanov is to appear before the court charged with receiving bribes to make use of his official position.

The imperfection of the awards system can be clearly seen in the actual assessment of people's services. Someone found it convenient to start making calculations for all contingencies in life. If you fly into space for the first time and fulfill your mission—a "Gold Star," if you do it again—another. But after that—no more. This gradation has struck many people, because it is inexplicable. Cosmonaut Yu. Romanenko was in orbit for about a year. For that outstanding feat, he was awarded an order. And his colleague, who was in flight for only a week, received a "Gold Star." Why? That is the system. Test pilots I. Volk and A. Levchenko were engaged for many years in the mastery of new technology, constantly risking their lives, but they only became Heroes of the Soviet Union when they made a space flight.

Another example. V. Buzukov from Monin in the Moscow region recalls how the sportsman Sh. Karapetyan rescued 22 passengers from a bus that had fallen into a lake. His feat merited only...the order of the "Insignia of Honor."

There is clearly no need to demonstrate further the imperfection of the award system. Readers suggest changing it so that it accords with our society's high morality. First, many believe, it is time to introduce a new principle: Not to set limits on awards from above, but to allow the lower levels, that is, the enterprises and institutions themselves, to nominate those worthy of orders, medals, and lofty titles. And, as P. Shishlov writes from Novosibirsk, to do this publicly, with the participation of the collectives of the team, shop, section, laboratory, and so forth. Not like now: hugger-mugger, in secret, in the office of the director, the party committee secretary, or even the chief of the cadre section, which often makes it possible to single out the favorites, time-servers, "our" people, and even rogues who have ingratiated themselves.

Votes are cast for glasnost by Ye. Kovalev, a welder from Khartsyzsk; R. Alimbekov of Alma-Ata; Candidate of Technical Sciences Yu. Snegirev, lecturer at the Shakhty branch of the Novocherkassk Polytechnical Institute; labor veteran S. Svekrovin, a former employee of that institute, and many other readers. They unanimously believe that we should abandon mass awards and mark people's specific feats, services, and labor successes, which will undoubtedly increase the moral weight, prestige, and educational role of orders and medals.

There are many advocates of a revision of the provision on the award of the titles Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labor. It is proposed that this should be done only once. These views are expressed by Muscovite A. Tyuryumin, a Hero of the Soviet Union and honored test pilot of the USSR; V. Smalev, worker at a Lipetsk plant; A. Kulyutin of Nizhniy Tagil, and others.

It is worth thinking about the words of V. Matveyev from Volgograd, to the effect that recognition for actors, singers, musicians, writers, and artists should come not with the help of an official document, a decree on the award of the title of Hero of Socialist Labor or the presentation of an order on their 50th or 60th birthday, but together with true popularity for their works and creativity, with the love and high assessment of the people. There is certainly a grain of truth in these thoughts. Let us remember--Aleksandr Trifonovich Tvardovskiy was never awarded the gold "Hammer and Sickle" medal. But today it is clear to everyone who knows anything at all about literature that his works will outlive our grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Another writer may be given 1, 2, or 10 gold stars; it will not make his mediocre works true classics or the pride of Soviet literature; in fact they will still be forgotten in 10 years' time.

And personalities in literature, art, and culture should be given awards at the right time and sensitively. For instance, M. Ulyanov's services to the development of the theater or Ye. Nesterenko's to the art of opera could and should have been marked without waiting for their jubilees, for the creation of whole galleries of vivid images.

And those who responded to V. Tishchenko's letter are quite unanimous that the time has come to abandon personal awards "on his ...th birthday," eliminating the notorious table of ranks, or rather, table of orders. This results in nothing but unnecessary gossip and misunderstandings. The proposal not to award to any one person, whoever he may be, several Orders of Lenin is also just. The highest award is the highest precisely because it is the only one of its kind.

Finally, I wish to stress that what has been said applies only to labor awards which mark people's services in building the new society or developing the economy, science, or culture. In the conditions of war or such extraordinary events as the Chernobyl disaster, the assessment of human actions should be appropriate and fitting.

In all cases, society has an interest in ensuring that awards are conferred on really worthy people, the best of all. Then these awards will educate people, call them to honest, conscientious work carried out with the maximum physical and spiritual effort for the sake of the prosperity of their plant or kolkhoz, oblast, and republic, of our whole great country. That must be remembered in improving the system of state awards.

I was about to close there, but the last of the selected responses stopped me. Reader A. Mitin writes: "My family, my comrades at work, and my neighbors all agree with the author of the letter 'Who Receives an Award, and for What' and with its timely publication in PRAVDA. Only once again the nagging doubt (the inertia of the past) eats away at us: What now? Can things really remain as they have always been?"

National Consciousness, Dialectic Viewed

PM281105 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 3-4

[Part two of series of interviews with Doctor of Historical Sciences V.P. Naumov, head of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, by correspondent L. Kurin, under the rubric "PRAVDA on Friday": "Pages From History: Lenin's Testament"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] "Particular Caution" [subhead]

Kurin: At the end of December 1922 after the "Letter to the Congress," Lenin dictated in two sessions the article "The Question of Nationalities or of 'Autonomization'." It begins like this:

"I seem to be very guilty toward the workers of Russia for not having intervened energetically enough and sharply enough in the notorious queston of autonomization, which it appears is officially called the question of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Please explain to us the history of this question. Why does Lenin apologize to the Russian proletariat? What was worrying Vladimir Ilich?

Naumov: In the process of preparing the unification of the Soviet Republics, the Central Committee commission adopted a plan prepared by Stalin. This plan provided for the national Soviet Republics to enter the Russian Federation with the rights of autonomous republics. After the intervention by Lenin, who opposed the idea of the "autonomization" of the independent Soviet national republics, their unification was carried out on a fundamentally different basis. On Lenin's proposal the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created.

Lenin closely followed the process of building the union state. He was particularly concerned about how consistently the principles of proletarian internationalism would be observed during that process.

You asked about the concerned, anxious opening of the article. There were grounds for alarm. They stemmed from Stalin's attitude toward the creation of the union state. Stalin was completely wrong in his attitude toward Lenin's criticism of him and, most important, Lenin's proposal on the unification of the Soviet Republics on the basis of equality and the retention of their sovereignty. In a letter to the Politburo members dated 27 September 1922 Stalin, failing to understand the internationalist nature of the creation of the USSR, termed Lenin's position "national liberalism." But realizing that the party Central Committee would support Lenin, Stalin decided not to insist on his own viewpoint and redrafted the Central Committee Orgburo commission's resolution in accordance with all Lenin's suggestions. The new draft, signed by Stalin, Ordzhonikidze, Myasnikov, and Molotov, was distributed to the Central Committee members and candidate members. However, the introduction to the draft overlooked the fact that it had been redrafted on the basis of Lenin's principled suggestions. Furthermore, the draft glossed over the fundamental difference between the "autonomization" plan and Lenin's plan for the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It was claimed that the new resolution represents merely a "somewhat altered, more precise formulation" of the Central Committee Orgburo commission's resolution which (and I quote) was "basically correct and undoubtedly acceptable."

Kurin: As I understand it, it was not a question of the formulation but of the attitude of Lenin and Stalin toward the national question.

Naumov: Of course it was not a question of the formulation. The key to the matter was the attitude toward the most delicate and sensitive question. What approach should be adopted to it? To attack it with red-hot iron, to crush the hydra of nationalism? Or to approach the national question very cautiously, very circumspectly. In this connection it was simply essential to continue Lenin's idea on using particular caution. Lenin says:

"That Georgian, who is neglectful of this aspect of the matter, who carelessly flings about accusations of 'social nationalism' (whereas he himself is a genuine and true social nationalist and even a vulgar Great Russian Derzhimorda) [coarse, brutal police officer in Gogol's play "The Inspector General"], violates in essence the interests of proletarian class solidarity, because nothing holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity so much as national injustice, and 'offended' nationals are not sensitive to anything so much as to the feeling of equality and the violation of that equality—if only through negligence or as a joke—and to the violation of that equality by their proletarian comrades."

Kurin: You have already mentioned the "Georgian question." It is time to examine it in greater detail. Describe for us how it arose, what the essence of it is, and what conclusions Lenin drew from it.

Naumov: The conflict arose between the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Transcaucasus party kraykom. At the end of 1921, Mdivani and other Georgian Communist Party leaders opposed entry into the Transcaucasian Federation. Lenin criticized them at that time for that reason. The Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Plenum in October 1922 deemed the creation of the Transcaucasian Federation necessary. Nevertheless, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee insisted on independent entry into the USSR, bypassing the Transcaucasian Federation. Lenin again corrected Mdivani.

Later the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee opposed Stalin's plan on "autonomization" and held a session at which they adopted the following decision: "Unification in the form of the autonomization of independent republics is considered premature." Lenin supported that stance.

Kurin: Why did Lenin oppose Mdivani on one occasion and support him on another?

Naumov: Some of those who have researched this question try to prove that although Lenin was opposed to the Mdivani group he supported it because he believed that it was "better to err on the side of compromise and leniency toward national minorities than not to." These words are indeed Lenin's but they are in no way applicable to an assessment of his attitude toward the Mdivani group in the fall and winter of 1922-1923. To draw such conclusions is to fail to understand the meaning and spirit of Lenin's article—the need for resolute and uncompromising struggle against great-power chauvinism and for the consistent implementation of the principles of internationalism. That explains the support for the Mdivani group, which criticized the Transcaucasian Kraykom and its leader Ordzhonikidze on the autonomization question. Ordzhonikidze, who justly spoke against manifestations of nationalism, did not show the proper restraint on this political discussion. It even reached the stage where Ordzhonikidze struck a member of that group who had insulted him. Here is how Lenin views that mistake:

"Ordzhonikidze was the authority over all the citizens in the Caucasus. Ordzhonikidze had no right to display that irritability to which he and Dzerzhinskiy referred." And later Lenin suggests: "Exemplary punishment must be inflicted on Comrade Ordzhonikidze (I say this with all the more regret as I am one of his personal friends and worked with him in emigration), and the investigation of all the material which Dzerzhinskiy's commission has collected must be completed or started all over again to correct the enormous number of mistakes and partial judgments which it undoubtedly contains."

Kurin: Why does Lenin mention Dzerzhinskiy?

Naumov: On 25 November 1922 the Politburo decided to send a commission headed by Dzerzhinskiy to Georgia. Lenin was very worried about the "Georgian question," and he impatiently awaited Dzerzhinskiy's return, as the duty secretaries' diary makes plain. Dzerzhinskiy returned to Moscow 12 December and immediately had a long conversation with Vladimir Ilich. On the basis of that conversation Lenin concluded that the Dzerzhinskiy commission had not shown due impartiality in investigating the "Georgian conflict." All this information is taken from the notes to the work "The Question of Nationalities or of 'Autonomization'" in Volume 45 of Lenin's Complete Collected Works. The only pity is that those notes clearly express the idea that the Mdivani group was always wrong and that Lenin always opposed it. That is not so. I shall simply quote Lenin's letter (incidentally, his last letter) which he sent to Mdivani and Makharadze:

"Esteemed comrades!

"I have been following your case with great interest. I am incensed at Ordzhonikidze's crudeness and at Stalin's and Dzerzhinskiy's indulgence. I am preparing notes and a speech for you.

"Respectfully,

"Lenin

"6 March 1923"

Lenin was not able to prepare the notes and speech. The rapid deterioration in his health intervened. But as we can see he had time to dictate the letter. The last letter, I repeat, which he ever dictated.

Stalin, too, had this episode in mind when 3 years later he addressed a session of the enlarged plenum of the Comintern Executive Committee: "Lenin did not and could not know those facts because he was sick, bedridden, and unable to follow events." Later on Stalin called this incident "insignificant."

As all the above makes clear, Lenin followed events closely and knew all the details of this episode. Furthermore, no matter how difficult and painful it was, he had to apologize for the crudeness and lack of tact of his party comrades whom he respected and with whom he had been friends for many years. Yes, it was very difficult for him, and not because he was sick but because he was forced to do this. It was his duty. The duty of a proletarian internationalist.

The content of the article "The Question of Nationalities or of 'Autonomization'" cannot be reduced to an "insigificant incident." The aim of Lenin's article was to strengthen the union of socialist republics and to ensure the strictest observance of the principles of internationalism.

Kurin: What became of this document?

Naumov: Lenin attached great significance to it and proposed publishing it later in the form of an article. On 5 March 1923, however, his condition deteriorated sharply.

On 16 April 1923 Fotiyeva sent Lenin's article to the Politburo. At the 12th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress these notes, like the "Letter to the Congress," were read out to the delegates but were not published. It was only 33 years later that the article appeared in the journal KOMMUNIST. People had to wait 33 years before they could read the following: "I think that Stalin's haste and enthusiasm for pure administration and also his spite against the notorious 'social nationalism' played a fatal role here. Spite as a rule is a very bad thing in politics."

It only remains to add that Lenin was a resolute and principled opponent of nationalism—in all its forms and manifestations. But Lenin accurately understood that scarcely perceptible facet which divides national consciousness from nationalism. Lenin supported national consciousness and resolutely opposed nationalism. He also acted resolutely when national consciousness developed into nationalism. This was Lenin's dialectic with regard to the national question. It is that dialectic that we must study. Because the roots of nationalism are very much alive. [passage omitted]

Economic

AUCCTU Seminar Views Restructuring Problems

PM251603 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Economic Accountability—The Imperative of the Time: All-Union Conference Seminar at AUCCTU"]

[Excerpts] The basis of the improvement of the economic mechanism that is being carried out in the country is the transfer of enterprises, associations, and organizations to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. But an effect can be achieved here only if the principles of economic accountability permeate all levels of production as far as the team and the work station. An all-union seminar-conference organized by the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, held in Moscow yesterday, was dedicated to the discussion of these important problems and the tasks of trade union and economic organs in the widescale development of production-based economic accountability and the collective contract in the national economy.

Taking part in the seminar's work were senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of union and republic ministries and departments, the AUCCTU, and trade union central committees and councils; economic and trade union workers and specialists of associations and enterprises; representatives of scientific institutions; and production pacemakers and innovators.

S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, delivered the opening address.

The report was delivered by K. Turysov, secretary of the AUCCTU. [passage omitted]

Specificity, commitment, constructiveness, and a thorough analysis of the situation were the hallmarks of the discussion. Today, the seminar noted, the reform is becoming broad in scale and is embracing virtually all spheres of the national economy. At the same time the transfer of enterprises and organizations to full economic accountability and self-financing is not being achieved easily or without problems and is meeting all kinds of obstacles. They include shortcomings in planning and accounting, particularly at the level of teams and sections, and imperfections in the system of economic accountability itself. There is also the continuing overadministration in the management of enterprises and the flouting of labor collectives' rights granted them by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise. There is also the mentality of overcautiousness and the desire for a "quiet life." There is the unpreparedness of many enterprises for work in conditions of economic accountability. The great opportunities and extensive rights granted to labor collectives are being poorly utilized, and many economic, engineering, and scientific cadres are biding their time, awaiting developments, and are slow to join in the work of assimilating the new methods of economic management.

The seminar participants not only described their experience and revealed the factors slowing down the universal application of economic accountability and the collective contract, but also defined the urgent tasks and opportunities for the widescale development of economic accountability and the contract in labor collectives. Great attention was paid to questions of creating temporary creative collectives and cooperatives for the introduction of economic accountability at enterprises and organizing economic training in labor collectives. [passage omitted]

Foreign Economic Brokerage Firm Proposed

PM040941 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 p 2

[Report on interview with D. Nazarov, chief economist at the USSR Gosbank, by own correspondent S. Korepanov: "Brokers Offer Their Services"]

[Text] It is proposed to set up a foreign economic brokerage company under the auspices of the union Gosbank, the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, and the Ministry of Finance.

At the request of our correspondent S. Korepanov, the tasks of this company were discussed by D. Nazarov, chief economist at the USSR Gosbank:

Now that many enterprises have obtained the right to operate independently in the foreign market, there is an acute problem with barter deals. After all, it is not always possible to wait for settlement in hard currency. Suppose a foreign firm offers leather goods in exchange for the ore we are supplying. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade has made very extensive use of such deals. But direct exchanges are impossible for exporting enterprises: By law they can accept as payment for their exports either hard currency—with which they are entitled to buy machines and equipment—or goods to be used in the production sphere. A brokerage firm will find the necessary buyers either on the foreign market or from among Soviet organizations.

More than 10 percent of world trade turnover is now undertaken in the form of barter trade. In some ways the mechanism of these deals is reminiscent of a complicated multilayered exchange of apartments. I will just cite the three most common types: The exporting enterprise sells machines tools to some country and, for instance, obtains in payment coffee, which is bought by a third person in our country, who in turn pays the exporting enterprise its foreign currency; or, the coffee is reexported to another country and foreign currency paid to the exporting enterprise; or, the coffee is reexported to another country in exchange for goods needed by the exporting enterprise.

Banking Official on Setting Up Cooperative Bank

LD301020 Moscow TASS in English 0952 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 30 TASS—The returns of the Soviet cooperatives had reached almost 350 million roubles by March this year. The problem of enhancing the effectiveness of their activities is a subject of lively discussions in the Soviet press. Many economists believe it necessary that a special cooperative bank of the USSR be set up, since the country has today nearly 14,000 cooperatives which are in need of a well established crediting system. The possibility of setting up such a bank is envisaged in the draft law on cooperatives in the USSR, which has been recently published.

The setting up of a cooperative bank would make it possible to put to use the huge funds (nearly 270,000 million roubles) deposited now in the accounts of the USSR savings bank, which was set up last year. This is the opinion, in particular, of Viktor Arkhipov, first vice-chairman of the board of the USSR Agri-Industrial Bank. "The active use of these funds will make it possible to increase considerably the effectiveness of the cooperative movement, whose aim is to meet even fuller the demand of the population for goods and services", Viktor Arkhipov told a TASS correspondent. "I think that we are going to have a cooperative bank already in 1989."

Some economists believe that the setting up of a cooperative bank is in conflict with the state monopoly of financial and crediting operations introduced in the USSR in 1918. Arkhipov does not agree with that. "In starting perestroyka, we limited the monopoly of the state to foreign economic activities, and allowed a number of enterprises to appear with their products in the foreign market independently," Arkhipov recalled. "But this does not do damage to the state, since it preserves the right to shape the country's foreign economic policy. This is also the case with the state monopoly of financial and crediting activities. Today it is supposed only to coordinate the activities of the financial-crediting institutions and determine the general financial policy."

The attractiveness of depositing money into the cooperative bank for the depositors should be linked with a high interest rate. As Viktor Arkhipov said, it should be higher than the current interest rate of two-three per cent at the USSR savings bank. In his opinion, to form an effective crediting policy of the cooperative banks, active use will be made of the security right. This means that in granting a loan the cooperative bank will have the right to turn the products of the cooperative into its property, if the latter is unable to service the debt in time. Thus the bank will have a vested interest in the high quality of the products put out by the cooperative, in it finding a ready demand. [sentence as received]

Viktor Arkhipov believes that the USSR cooperative bank will have one more function—financing international contracts. Since the draft law on cooperatives in the USSR grants them the right to do trade in the foreign market independently. [sentence as received]

Labor Imbalances Afflict Kabardino-Balkaria

PM241309 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88 First Edition p 2

[Article by M. Bitokov, staffer of the newspaper KABARDINO-BALKARSKAYA PRAVDA, under the rubric "Employment Problems in Kabardino-Balkaria": "A Surplus When There Is a Shortage"]

[Text] We were introduced to B. Timur at the employment bureau. The "seasonal worker" introduced himself. Two days later I caught sight of him in the morning among a group of men who had gathered at the railroad station waiting for a one-off chance to earn some money—which, incidentally, has now become the norm for many....

At one time the subject of employment did not come up in the press very often. But now people have begun to talk about it in connection with a large section of the national economy transferring to work in the conditions of economic accountability and self-financing and the consequent prospect of a considerable number of people being laid off. The problem of employment has been coming to a head for many years, however. Entire regions of our country, including Central Asia, the Transcaucasian republics, and the autonomous republics in the north Caucasus, have a surplus of manpower.

A person who cannot find work and, equally, a person who does not want to work, is a social problem, not to mention the fact that work determines the social status of the individual. It is also an economic and moral problem. It is the source of many negative phenomena. In Kabardino-Balkaria, for example, one in five crimes is committed by people out of work. Social corrosion is particularly strong in this kind of environment, and living in this environment or simply rubbing shoulders with it has a corruptive effect on young people.

These factors prompted the comprehensive program to involve the unemployed able-bodied population in socially useful work which was approved by the Kabardino-Balkaria CPSU Obkom and the autonomous republic's Council of Ministers more than 2 years ago. Calculations showed that during July-August 1985 there were more than 30,000 people in the republic who were not engaged in social production, although their age and state of health would certainly not have barred them from the category of people obliged to work. What is more, one in two did not have any valid reason for this, such as having a family with young children. Allow me to add that another 5,000 people have been found out of work in the 2 years since then. I must immediately point out that more than 20,000 people have been placed in employment since the program has been in effect. The implementation of this program is constantly monitored by party and soviet organs. Employment issues are periodically discussed by the republic's CPSU Obkom Bureau, its Supreme Soviet Presidium, and its Council of Ministers.

But... now everyone is interested in establishing the scale on which workers are to be laid off from enterprises. There are no exact forecasts to go on, because this kind of information is entered on the books and cannot be requested from an enterprise. The autonomous republic's State Committee for Labor and Social Problems is collecting this kind of information at its own expense, but even it does not have the complete picture. L. Kuchmezova, chief of the manpower department, showed me a bulging file containing correspondence on this issue. But basically the replies amounted to saying: Wait and see.

The resolution recently approved by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the AUCCTU "On Guaranteeing Effective Employment for the Population, Improving the Job Placement System, and Strengthening Social Guarantees for the Working People" stipulates that the administration of an enterprise must inform job placement organs within 2 months of its plans to lay off any worker and indicate his profession, speciality, qualifications, and wages. But this is only after the worker has been offered a position at the same enterprise and has refused. So what happens if, at best, labor organs do have possession of this kind of information 2 months in advance? At present they are working on a figure in the region of 14,000-15,000 people. Of course, many will stay on at their enterprises and new jobs will be created. The "discrepancies" will remain, however. This could aggravate the republic's problem of surplus manpower.

Lack of thought in the distribution of production forces has resulted in the autonomous republic capital's opening up more and more new plants and factories, for which the manpower is sometimes not available.

"The city is a complex organism," F. Kharayev, chairman of Nalchik Gorispolkom, said. "Everything in it is interlinked, but we sometimes do not take this into account in our decisions. The housing problem is now in the forefront. It has been exacerbated by the fact that previously many issues were not considered systematically, from an overall standpoint. We have made the housing shortage worse by building a mass of labor-intensive production units in the city away from labor resources and natural resources and attracting more and more new people from rural areas. So now some of the enterprises in the city are complaining of a shortage of manpower and have to transport thousands of people in and out of the city—every day!—over tens of kilometers. Resiting low-tech, labor-intensive sectors in rural areas is seen as a solution. Artels, cooperatives, and even kolkhozes could successfully manufacture building materials, hardware, and horticultural equipment, for example."

The republic's employment program has pinned great hopes on the branches and shops of existing enterprises transferred to rural areas. Even now, despite the fact that these expectations have largely proved illusory, judging by the papers of various departments these branches must swallow up a considerable proportion of surplus manpower. But most of them have shown themselves to be economically unsound. Making little profit or even operating at a loss, they were created along the lines of those built in Russian oblasts with a manpower shortage. There the task was to bring production closer to the labor force. In Kabardino-Balkaria the aim was to provide people with work. This is by no means a stylistic nuance, because if there is a cadre shortage enterprises have to concern themselves with the level of technological equipment, labor mechanization and automation, and labor remuneration. But the aim of providing more jobs requires its own specific solution. A recent check showed that at two branches—the Sarmakovskiy and Verkhnekurkuzhinskiy—of the "Druzhba" Combine the average monthly wage is almost R50 lower than at the main production unit. The Kyzburunskiy Brick Plant has earned itself a bad reputation at all levels, as it has done nothing to resolve its cadre problems, while hundreds of people who are not employed in social production are living next door. Of course, the transfer to economic accountability and self-financing will spur the collectives of plants and factories with branches like this to review the expediency of their existing in their present form.

"Small, independent enterprises operating on the basis of local raw materials must be sited in rural areas," V. Mamin, head of a department in the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR Gosplan, who is also secretary of the republic commission for the use of labor resources, believes. "They could be subsidiary production units and industries or enterprises in the processing sectors. It is important to ensure that they are tied to local raw materials. But the Gosagroprom is slow and unwilling to tackle this. It is possible that kolkhozes and sovkhozes will solve these questions themselves when they become more independent. But at present people in rural areas are mainly drawn into social production by increasing the proportion of labor-intensive agricultural crops."

I must say at this point that women are not usually employed in the rural areas of Kabardino-Balkaria. Following instructions from central organs, women with one or two children were removed from the mobile section of available labor resources. Naturally, children's preschool institutions are essential if they are to be involved in production. But for a number of years now the supply of sociocultural facilities for the people in the autonomous republic has been considerably lower than elsewhere in the RSFSR and the region.

A multishift system is considered to be another reserve in increasing employment. By the end of this year the number of people working in industry on a second and third shift will have more than doubled. But even this does not resolve the problem, because at 73 enterprises under the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry the output volumes planned earlier have not been amended in favor of an increase because of the lack of extra funds for raw materials and semimanufactured goods. Given this state of affairs, the number of workers is not increasing but is, in fact, decreasing. For example, while doubling its production output over the 5-year period, the "Sevkazelektronmash" Production Association will reduce the number of its workers and employees. The conclusion is formulated as a question: Perhaps, while generally intensifying the national economy, would it be possible and even necessary to allow elements of extensive development in a number of regions in order to increase employment?

The application to site more new industrial enterprises in the republic submitted by the Kabardino-Balkaria leadership to government organs could serve as an original answer to this question. It is proposed to consider the possibility of organizing production of the most labor-intensive sectors of machine building and light industry in cities and regions with a manpower surplus, which would involve approximately 10,000 people—most of whom would be women. Six union ministries and departments and also the RSFSR Ministry of Light Industry and the RSFSR Ministry of the Textile Industry have responded so far. Unfortunately, their proposals do not take local features into account. They mainly propose establishing enterprises employing highly skilled male labor. Again, these massive development projects are destined for the cities of Nalchik and Prokhladnyy, where there are no available labor resources or space for major industrial construction anyway. The ministries are not interested in rural areas, with their dense population and relatively weak infrastructure. This is understandable on the whole.

As we can see, territorial social problems are coming into conflict here with sectoral and departmental interests. In this respect the attitude of economic organs to introducing new forms of personal involvement for the unemployed is typical. Following a decision by the Nalchik City Council, all the city's enterprises, organizations, and institutions must present the job placement bureau with information on their cadre requirements and on every worker who is laid off work; in other words, they have been instructed to recruit people for employment through the bureau alone. But how is this decision being carried out? In the city's Leninskiy Rayon, only one-fourth of new employees have been recruited through the bureau, and the information on one in four people laid off has also disappeared.

The bureau is very busy at the moment: It has information on people out of work or, in any case, people who intend to work, lists of vacancies are being drawn up, and people looking for jobs will be able to choose what suits them. These vacancies deserve a special mention because the republic is now faced with the strange situation in which a surplus of manpower is accompanied by a manpower shortage. At present these opposite trends peacefully coexist, without blunting the edge of either problem.

The cadre shortage is making itself felt everywhere: in the cities and in rural areas. Between February and October last year, some 9,000 jobs stood vacant and, strange though it may seem, half of them were in agriculture; or, in other words, in the very same rural areas where thousands of people are unemployed. In 1986 more than 20,000 workers and employees from cities were brought into agricultural work. At the same time, when this work was at its most intense, a considerable number of kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers played no part. Why? To answer this question it is sufficient to walk through the markets, and not just the local markets, where the majority of the traders are healthy young people. In the first year of the 12th 5-year period, when there was a serious shortage of workers in a number of the building professions and the need for such workers had sharply increased because of the large growth in the volume of construction work, a mere 17 excavator operators, 14 tower crane operators, 18 painters and plasterers, and 28 rural building foremen were trained at vocational and technical schools in Kabardino-Balkaria. Meanwhile, two construction organizations in the republic—Kabalproektstroy and Kabalgrazhdanstroy—alone need to increase their worker numbers by 1,200. But something is now being done to put the situation right. All students at vocational and technical schools will have to master specialized building skills in addition to their main subject.

The republic's "Kadry" program is being supplemented by the employment program. This means that trained people who know what they are doing and how to go about the job, rather than people who are only half-educated, will be working on machine tools and drafting units and going out into the fields. When this happens we will be able to talk about not just employment but rational employment that is as effective as it could possibly be.

Agricultural

Further Report on Collective Farmers Congress

Nikonov Addresses Meeting

PM301418 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 5

[Speech delivered by A.A. Nikonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and president of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, at the 25 March session of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members held in the Kremlin]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! M.S. Gorbachev's speech outlined a fundamentally new structure for the country's agro-industrial complex with the new economic mechanism. We now have to resolve large-scale problems directly associated with the cooperative movement, where science too should take a fitting place.

In assessing the development and present state of agrarian science, it is not hard to see that we have much in common with the destiny of the peasantry and the kolkhoz system. In the past it has experienced great upsurges in connection with the pioneering activity of many outstanding scientists. But there have also been periods of gloom when whole scientific schools that were the glory of national and world science were uprooted. We realize this does not give us the right to forgiveness for our debts and shortcomings. On the contrary, it makes it incumbent on us to work even more staunchly and creatively.

We are carrying out a restructuring in science, but it is going more slowly than one would wish. The criticism made here is justified, and we will respond to it with action. First and foremost, by stepping up work connected with the development of the economy and in other priority areas.

Great potential has been accumulated in scientific collectives. They are engaged in an extensive technological, biological, and economic quest. Biotechnological methods have begun to be used in crop farming and livestock raising, and very promising results have been obtained. However, for the sake of objectivity it must be said that our science still suffers from at least three major shortcomings. First, it is too technocratic, and not enough attention is devoted to people and everything connected with their interests and their working and living conditions. Second, research is insufficiently systematic and integrated. We often produce semifinished instead of finished scientific output, and fragments instead of whole technologies. The third defect is that for a long time there has been a lack of a reliable mechanism for introducing scientific developments. After all, if we were to introduce even half of the available scientific potential today, our agriculture would look entirely different.

One priority task is concern for the land. As a result of collectivization being pushed through quickly, as well as many other measures implemented from above, without consulting with the peasants, the principle of combining public and personal interests was violated. The peasant was divorced from the land.

There is no need to tell you about the disastrous situation for the land. In just 10 years, 1976 through 1985, the area of mobile sands increased by 26 percent. The areas of marshy, salty, and eroded land increased. In the southeastern European part of the country, west of the Volga, a very dangerous area of desert emerged, and every day its area increases by 125 hectares.

Science has developed and introduced methods for cultivating such mobile sands. But neither our scientific developments and recommendations, nor the most authoritative decisions and resolutions, nor even major investments will help our land until it has a true master. That is why it is necessary everywhere, as has rightly been said here, to revive and strengthen people's ties with the land through long-term rentals and economic interest and responsibility on the part of primary labor collectives—family, small group, link, and team collectives.

Actual practice shows convincingly that in the conditions of a rental contract the most negative phenomena that erode our economy can be overcome—the lack of personal responsibility, and wage leveling. The contract and rental systems do not weaken the kolkhoz, they strengthen it. Relationships are changed, they are transferred onto a sound contractual footing. This is a qualitative, radical change—psychological, economic, and social.

The primary labor collective as the initial component in the cooperative system, then the kolkhoz and sovkhoz as a cooperative of autonomous subcontracting labor collectives, then the agro-industrial firm, association, or combine, and lastly the cooperative union—in this way the entire agro-industrial complex is structured according to the principle of vertical and horizontal cooperation.

Cooperative principles are increasingly fully manifested in the new forms of links between science and production, because failures in work to introduce innovations are explained by the lack of interest on both sides and also the lack of an acceptable organizational form. Science-and-production and production-scientific systems have now been organized. There are now about 400 of them and the number is steadily growing. Many of them have demonstrated high effectiveness in practice. At the Kurgan "Corn" science-and-production system, an increase in production from 2 to 7 tonnes of feed units per hectare was achieved in a year, with a marked reduction in outlay per unit of output. The "Flax" system in Kalinin Oblast made it possible to double the yield of this crop, improve profitability, and increase labor productivity. Whereas in the recent past every hectare of flax sowings gave the farms a loss of R70, last year it gave them R230 of profit.

New formations—agro-industrial firms, combines, and associations—as experience shows, do not only need scientific developments, they eagerly drink in science, value it and use it. Science, in turn, will become organically linked with production, reaching every agro-industrial firm, association, and kolkhoz. Scientific developments become a commodity, in the conditions of economic accountability.

Good science is costly, but its return is much higher. World practice shows that investments in science, as well as in cadre training, are the most advantageous. (applause)

Tsentrosoyuz' Fedirko Speaks

PM291100 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 4

[Speech delivered by P.S. Fedirko, chairman of the Tsentrosoyuz board, at the 25 March session of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members held in the Kremlin]

[Text] Comrades! I think I am correct in saying that since Lenin's days no such large-scale steps have been taken to develop the socialist cooperative movement. The draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's address, and the congress delegates' speeches express fundamentally new approaches to tackling the main tasks of the restructuring, the democratization of Soviet society, radical economic reform, and on this basis the improvement of supplies of food and other goods to the population and the enhancement of their prosperity.

The activity of the consumer cooperative system is inextricably linked to the life and daily concerns of the countryside and its working people. The just criticism of it that has been heard here indicates that as yet we are only feebly tackling the tasks facing us. Of course, the many years of undervaluing the cooperative system's role in the country played a part in this, but we must also see another aspect. The cooperative workers themselves like working on instructions from above, so that there is no need to show economic initiative and enterprise. We associate the revival of the true nature of the cooperative movement first and foremost with the restoration of rural consumer societies, with the closest possible links between them and the shareholders, with the strengthening of cooperative self-management, and with the real subordination of all the system's activity to the interests and needs of rural dwellers.

Work is now under way in the consumer cooperative system to create mobile economic cells that are as close as possible to the population—agricultural production and procurement cooperatives [selkoopzagotpromy], which are to take on the functions of purchasing on a long-term contract basis everything that is grown on the farms, as well as the most basic processing of this produce on the spot, its sale, and the provision of various services to the population, including services such as the production of various products or articles from materials supplied by the client, the supply of small means of mechanization and fruit and vegetable growing tools for hire, and so forth.

This way of organizing procurement and processing activity meets with understanding in many regions of the country. In Moldavia, for instance, by the end of the current 5-year plan it is proposed to allocate 535 premises for this purpose for payment or on a rental basis. In the first quarter of this year 80 such points came into operation. Similar enterprises are being set up in Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, and Omsk Oblast.

Life demands new approaches to the organization of trade services for the rural population. Progress in this matter will depend on the wider use of various forms of family and individual contract, stores in apartment blocks, and mobile and mail-order trade. In tackling this problem great significance is attached to businesslike cooperation between the consumer cooperative system and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes—as, for instance, in the Ukraine and in Gorkiy, Novosibirsk, Orenburg, and other oblasts, where farms help to build trade centers, stores, canteens, and so forth.

The growth of material prosperity and the improvement in the cultural development of the rural population have led to a sharp increase in demand for high quality types of clothing and footwear, technically complex articles, small means of mechanization, and construction materials. But cooperative trade receives a clearly insufficient quantity of these goods from industry. What economic or other factors can explain the fact that, while serving 40 percent of the population, for a number of years consumer cooperative organizations have received from centralized resources only 27-28 percent of the sewn and knitted goods and footwear and less than one-third of market stocks of television sets, clocks and watches, and furniture? Yet to eliminate these distortions today would require no decisions from above, since market stocks are distributed directly within the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics.

It is necessary to considerably improve the utilization of the potential of the consumer cooperative system itself to supplement the market supplies of shortage goods. This could be done by bringing output from personal plots more widely into circulation, developing the production of goods at our production enterprises, and creating various kinds of cooperatives, including production cooperatives, channeling their activity into "collecting together scattered commodity assets and creating new ones," as Lenin put it. But here a question of fundamental importance arises. All cooperatives have a great interest in the development of the cooperative movement in the country being accompanied by the creation of a market for free wholesale trade in raw materials, equipment, and other material and technical resources. Today many of them already have financial resources, but cannot use them for their own development. We must think about this.

There is a more acute problem than ever before over the selection of cadres and the education of true cooperative workers who are ready to take risks, to assume responsibility and work autonomously and creatively, and who know how to defend their rights. We need fresh forces, enterprising workers, who should become reliable partners for the kolkhozes and other organizations in the agro-industrial complex.

The consumer cooperative system is now preparing for its next congress, the 12th. The drafts for the Model Charter for consumer cooperatives (consumer associations and their unions) are to be submitted for its examination. Tremendous significance will also be attached, for us, to the adoption of the Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR, which will undoubtedly be an important document of the restructuring.

I would like to express the conviction that in close collaboration with kolkhozes and other enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex, the consumer cooperative system will exert an ever more substantial influence on satisfying Soviet people's requirements for goods and services. (applause)

Starodubtsev Assesses Meeting

PM301519 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 First Edition p 1

[Article by Vasiliy Starodubtsev, chairman of the All-Russian Kolkhoz Council, under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Potential of the Cooperative System"]

[Text] We had been waiting for this congress for a long time. We were pinning considerable hopes on it. And—why deny it?—worries snowballed, particularly recently, when the kolkhoz system started to come in for numerous attacks owing to mistakes committed in the past and sometimes still not eradicated even today. Clearly these attacks were hard to bear for those who understand and value the kolkhoz system.

Now the congress is over. Were our aspirations met? Are our hearts lighter? I do not think I will be wrong if, on behalf of all of the congress' 4,319 delegates and 1,500 guests, I answer these questions in the affirmative. I would go further: The congress exceeded our expectations and, I am firmly convinced, imparted a powerful boost to the swift development and deepening of the kolkhoz movement.

I would like to discuss Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech separately, since, in my view, it defined the entire course of the discussion and its tenor and thrust. On the eve of the speech I was chatting with my comrades who had come from various geographical zones, republics, and oblasts. I listened to several trenchant criticisms leveled at the drafts of the kolkhoz model statutes and the Law on the Cooperative System. I got the impression that some kind of shortcomings in the documents offered for discussion would be the main target of the criticism, and that the debate participants would focus their attention on them. However, everything turned out differently. The conversations were more wide-ranging, large-scale, and drastic. Our interest focused on a range of up-to-the-minute problems in the revolutionary restructuring of the countryside and renewal on a broad front.

Needless to say, this turnaround was no accident. M.S. Gorbachev's entire speech was an impassioned Bolshevik appeal for creativity, for a resolute break with obsolete forms of organization and routine relations, and for the transformation of our life.

Clearly, after this it was impossible to restrict oneself to nitpicking about individual paragraphs of the statutes or the law or to a discussion of private questions. Something else was needed—an analysis of what had been done, and a glimpse of the future. I set forth my understanding of kolkhozes' tasks at the present stage of restructuring from the congress rostrum. Now that I have an opportunity through this newspaper to go beyond the confines of regulations, I will try once again to return to the points that are most worrying.

It is a question first and foremost of social justice. Recently a great deal has been done to ensure the triumph of justice with respect to the peasantry. However, the congress quite clearly reaffirmed that there is still a long way to go before victory is complete. To clarify the idea, let us turn to history.

Can we really forget the burden that the kolkhoz countryside shouldered! It not only fed the country, but raised a great army of heroic defenders for the fatherland and took millions of miners, metallurgists, engineers, physicians, scientists, and writers out of their environment. The most capable and energetic went off to build plants and cities and create works of culture.

Those who were emotionally drawn to the land also left the countryside because of the empty workday and the need to deliver agricultural produce for a pittance. It is hard to believe, but what were people to do at a time when kolkhozes paid less for a sack of grain than the cost of the sack itself—a piece of canvas sewn on three sides!... It is now time to make good the debt.

As we see it, money should be returned to the countryside in the shape of roads, well-appointed housing, and cultural and consumer centers. The measures that have been taken in this direction in recent years are still insufficient. It was no accident that the congress expressed concern at the fact that cities continue to be provided with better amenities and more rapidly than the countryside.

Social injustice regarding the countryside has a deep-rooted history. We recall that for a long time kolkhoz members had neither paid vacations, days off, or pension provision. Then people got more "generous," setting up pensions for kolkhoz members to the tune of...

R20. People may make the objection that the state was unable to pay more. Yet how was it able to pay more for peasants who left for the cities?

I mention all this by no means to settle some kind of long overdue score. I do it to point up a lesson. All the more so as the leftover principle of satisfying the countryside's needs is, unfortunately, not yet a thing of the past. To see this for yourself, you need only glance at store shelves in the countryside and the city or visit rural and urban medical centers, libraries, clubs...

I do not want to be misunderstood. Naturally, the extent to which our needs are met depends not only on the state. A very great deal can also be done by farms themselves. For the last few 5-year plans people have been making pilgrimages to us at the Novomoskovskiy Kolkhoz named for Lenin, where I have been chairman for the past 25 years. The visitors thoroughly and meticulously study the subtleties of crop farming and stockraising techniques and the organization of production processes. The secret of stable successes lies in this and this alone. Then other people complain that they organized their cows according to the "Starodubtsev" method, but there was no increase in milk yields. Why? Quite honestly I am tired of repeating the same old thing over and over. Success starts not with some technological or organizational innovation, but with attitudes to people.

The kolkhoz made its first profit in 1964. A very small profit—R43,000. There were so many problems on the farm that R43 million would not have been enough to put them right. Where were we to invest the profit under such conditions? We were persistently advised to get hold of another tractor or some other piece of equipment. The board decided otherwise. We put the entire R43,000 into providing material aid for war and labor veterans and war widows. They, after all, were the people most affected by injustice. Kolkhoz pensions were also set up... To cut a long story short I will just quote one situation. Whereas previously there had only been one full-time political worker on the kolkhoz—the party organizer and a small group of communists who helped him—there were now suddenly hundreds more commissars for the kolkhoz system. Exacting proprietorial eyes appeared everywhere.

This marked the start of a sharp upturn. Today we are increasing the pensions of Great Patriotic War participants and war widows to R100, and labor veterans' pensions to R70. The increased concern for old people is leading to the continual... introduction of new blood into the kolkhoz. There are now more than 1,000 children on the kolkhoz, their preschool education is free, and pupils in our 10-grade school also get free meals. Women who take maternity leave are paid R80 a month for 18 months. That is how our techniques and organization work.

I deliberately stress the creative potential at the disposal of a large cooperative farm, since it seems to me that there have been many kinds of attacks ranging from one extreme to the other. There were reasons for such attacks, if one takes into account the fact that one in every three kolkhozes in the RSFSR continues to make a loss. The basic problem is by no means that the kolkhoz as a form of organization is obsolete, but something else entirely. Kolkhozes, let us agree, have lost their cooperative essence. How do we differ from sovkhozes? Virtually all kolkhoz life continues to be regulated.

I stated at the congress that things were getting ridiculous. We even need permission to buy a bucket if it costs more than R5. Or, take the structure of sown areas or livestock numbers... How many transient indicators can still be imposed from above! Or do we not notice that this practice leads to a rapid growth of the management apparatus and various posts with armies of civil servants and bureaucrats. They have swarmed around important work like locusts, enmeshed it with thousands of instructions, and degraded people with investigations, complaints, and threats to demote or remove them.

All this was convincingly discussed in great detail at the congress. I would very much like to hope that it will now be possible to give kolkhozes back their cooperative essence and to open the way for really independent and enterprising economic management. Plenty of examples of creative questing in various parts of the country were cited from the rostrum of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. I also wholeheartedly advocate that there be numerous types of cooperation within the agro-industrial complex. Here we must painstakingly monitor where, under what conditions, and in which circumstances certain forms of organization produce the best results. We must learn fast and copy others without delay, and all of us should introduce front-ranking experience—and not just the homegrown variety. On the eve of our congress I and a group of agro-industrial complex workers visited cooperative workers in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia and we never ceased to be amazed at the scale of their spirit of enterprise. After all, there is nothing to stop us now doing our job enterprisingly, with indisputable advantages.

There is one other thing that worries me. We should not lose sight of the good things that have been built up in preceding years. For instance, I find it hard to understand the widely held disregard for large stockraising complexes. I also cannot follow the calls to turn the clock back and leave the countryside isolated in the way it once was. We must not ignore the fact that modern facilities cannot be laid on for every small farm or farmstead, and that modern services—medical, trade, and cultural services—cannot be organized in this way.

Without a profound understanding of the multiplicity of forms and methods of conducting agriculture we cannot resolve current and long-term tasks or avoid unsystematic campaigns and disruption. Only it is important that this diversity is not allowed to drift or that people operate on the principle of "let's see how it turns out." It was no accident that I raised the question at the congress about new cooperatives and individual labor activity. On the whole this is important and worthwhile work. However, today one often encounters the following cases: By using 1 kg of sugar, a cooperative worker earns R8-9 in profit. He buys meat from a state store for R2 and then, having barbecued it, sells it for R25. Is that fair? We must not let certain people openly profit through secret speculation on the back of our problems. Bear in mind that a sugar beet farmer earns just kopeks for that kilogram of sugar. So it turns out that we are putting workers in the agro-industrial complex and all of public production in an extremely disadvantageous economic position. We are creating just a semblance of increased benefits, although the basis for these benefits remains as it was before—we are by no means able to meet our needs.

Those, broadly, are the impressions I gained from the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members. We will all have to return more than once to the ideas and arguments voiced at the congress to alter our own way of doing things. One thing is unquestionable: The congress will leave a profound mark on the restructuring of rural life. We must all urgently tackle the practical implementation of its principled decisions and directives.

Comparison of Gorbachev Speech to Congress

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1130 GMT on 23 March carries the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. The Domestic Service version has been compared with the Moscow PRAVDA version published in the 24 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 66-82, revealing the following variations:

Page 74, column one, paragraph four, last line reads: ...that of fruits. (new paragraph) Incidentally, conditions for all that do exist, including for resolving the problem of supplies of livestock produce and fruits and vegetables. Especially fruits, because after the well-known frost damage, major work has been done to restore the orchards, and now they are entering the stage of fruit-bearing. I would even say, that we are probably going to encounter a very serious problem with harvesting those fruits, as early as in the next few years. Not to mention the fact that as early as last year we already began facing such a situation. (new paragraph) We are to... (supplying additional paragraph)

Column one, paragraph six, line two reads: ...forage from state resources, so that despite our tremendous opportunities for grain production, we are obliged to continue importing large quantities of grain. Of course, all... (supplying additional phrase)

Column two, paragraph one, line two reads: ...grain production zones. During these few days of the congress, we even plan to hold a Politburo session and discuss the question of the progress achieved in fulfilling the major decision on matters relating to grain farming, inviting the first secretaries participating in the congress here who represent our most important commodity grain farming areas. But at the ...(supplying additional sentence)

Page 75, column one, paragraph five, last line reads: ...for comment here? (new paragraph) I decided to add more examples in my speech to you, to show that everywhere, in all republics, in all areas, regardless of their specialization, their natural specialization, contracting gives a rapid return and a big effect. In connection with this, I cite: the Zhdanova collective farm, Kletskiy Rayon, Minsk Oblast in Belorussia; collective contracting, on the basis of interfarm accounting, was introduced in all terms on the collective farm in 1983. (new paragraph) I must say ...(rewording paragraph)

Column two, paragraph four, line seven reads: ...was 2,421 kg. (new paragraph) And Comrade Mozgovoy, when he is invited to join the government here as chairman or deputy chairman for agrarian questions on matters of planning and deliveries from the Ukraine says: No! Everything is exhausted! Everything has been completely wrung out of the poor Ukraine, you understand, everything! There you are: Don't hinder people, and they will carry on really wringing stuff out. You probably like to hand out orders. (applause)

I think you deserve applause—but criticial applause.

Gross output to the value of R20,500 per worker in the link has been produced, and in the farm it is R13,900. Average monthly wages... (rewording, supplying additional phrase)

Page 76, column two, paragraph two, line seven reads: ...pollute the countryside. This is how our psychology in the countryside has changed and become deformed: That occupation in rural labor, the fundamental, basic labor, pollutes the countryside, comrades! On this basis one could go as far as to say that kolkhoz' and sovkhoz' in general in conducting their activities are polluting the country. (new paragraph) Let us then go over directly to consumption of metal and coal! (applause) Here we are getting into things which are outside the scope of political and economic analysis, the psychologists will have to be brought into it. (applause) (new paragraph) Firemen believe that such farms do not conform to the fire safety provisions, measures, and regulations. (applause) It even transpired during a conversation—for comrades also paid a visit and had conversations there—that a former chairman of that kolkhoz lived nearby and was the first to fight against the experience of the Maksimovs, a family which had engaged in that business. Amazing things, comrades. This highlights the way of thinking, and what it represents today, the real way of thinking of many of our economic managers. (new paragraph) In a word... (rewording, supplying variant phrasing)

Column two, last paragraph, line three reads: ...of a very dubious harmful nature and above... (supplying "harmful")

Column two, last paragraph, line nine reads: ...the government. (applause) I even think that our situation is unique. For example, the development of agriculture in China, where they opted for lease contracting and gave land to families, brought about rapid growth. In a matter of days, the Chinese rural toilers increased the grain output by 100 million tons. But now the family, those contract collectives, have come up against the problem of their size, the fact that the potential of new technology and machinery cannot be utilized, and that scientific achievements cannot be applied. But we do have all the possibilities. We must bring out the potential inherent in these forms of economic management in the kolkhoz and sovkhoz—and it should be implemented, by using the potentialities of cooperatives. We are moving... (supplying additional passage)

Page 77, column one, last paragraph, line six reads: ...Berdsk radio works. Just look how possibilities are unfolding through the implementation of such an approach. Under the old structure of management 47 people were employed by the sovkhoz in management posts; at present 7 remain. By the way, that's what is at the bottom of it, showing who is in the way of transition to the contract method, the lease contracting method. Such collectives are... (supplying additional phrases)

Page 78, column one, paragraph two, last line reads: ...restructuring lies. (applause) (new paragraph) The apparatus of the RAPO; I have already said that. It is a very good thing that this experience is appearing in other regions of our country, too. It is, no doubt, known throughout the country that agriculture in Chita Oblast was in a difficult situation over a long period of time. At the moment the leadership of this oblast, with the particpation of communists, specialists in agriculture, with the participation of all rural workers and town workers, are doing great work in overcoming the lag and are using many interesting methods and approaches. Thus, in particular, in the Karymskiy Rayon of Chita Oblast, a single association has been established on the basis of six kolkhoz' and sovkhoz, a forestry concern, a diary, building, transport, and other organizations... (supplying additional passage)

Column two, paragraph one, last line reads: ...up the pace!" I think that we must learn that lesson from past experience. It is an... (supplying additional sentence)

Column two, paragraph three, line three reads: ...new business is. I would say that today this is the primary obstacle and it must be overcome; it must be overcome. The main precondition here, comrades, is the desire of people to join together voluntarily in cooperatives, starting from family, leasing, small group cooperatives, up to cooperatives at rayon and oblast level. The information coming... (supplying additional sentence, phrase)

Column two, paragraph four, penultimate line reads: ...of this approach. (applause, tentative at first then becoming louder) (new paragraph) Yes, it seems that it is necessary to give more thought to this. That is the conclusion I draw from the applause. Nonetheless, I think that we are drawing from the correct political and practical conclusion and that we must proceed from this conclusion in our practical work. (new paragraph) Comrades, conditions for the development of cooperatives in rural areas by no means diminishes the importance of... (supplying additional paragraph, rewording)

Page 79, column two, paragraph two, line ten reads: ...sometimes by one-half. In the Kuban Association, the comrades from the Kuban confirm—I was with them there 2 years ago—purchases of agricultural machinery amounted to R22 million. I am speaking from memory; I may be mistaken. They worked for 2 years and orders for machinery were reduced, I think to 11 [figure as heard], and now I do not know, Mikhail Ivanovich, do you know what the reduction was there? A lot? How much? [indistinct response to question] Throughout the agro-industrial complex. [pause] By one-third, one-third, comrades. So the new mechanism... (supplying additional sentences)

Column two, penultimate paragraph, line four reads: ...Central Committee plenums. We are preparing this plenum. We are carrying... (supplying additional sentence)

Page 81, column one, paragraph one, line three reads: ...of their organizations. In solving socioeconomic tasks of the countryside and foodstuff problems, the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives is far from working up to its potential. For example, to... (supplying variant wording)

Page 82, column one, paragraph one, last line reads: ...a difficult position. (new paragraph) On the contrary, whatever era one takes, the entire socialist period of the evolution of cooperative farming in our country shows that talented people have used people's initiative as the main resource for achieving great objectives in the development of the kolkhoz and in tackling major social and economic tasks. Therefore, those who lost with the people will hardly now guarantee us an increase in the country's food production. People will respond, give their support, always understand, and even forgive when they see a manager who is committed to his work, who is close to them, and who is willing to—and in fact does—give everything in order for the kolkhoz or sovkhoz to develop and progress. (applause) In a word, matters relating to deepening kolkhoz democracy and broad glasnost in kolkhoz life ought to be well thought out during the final examination of the charter. And I invite you to do so. (new paragraph) The draft law on cooperatives contains many fundamentally new provisions upon which the economic foundations of management are based. This must also be well-consolidated in the charter, because these documents were elaborated simultaneously, and the draft Law on Cooperatives came somewhat later, so they have to be compared to see to what extent all the possibilities contained in the draft Law on Cooperatives have been taken into account in the draft kolkhoz charter. The managerial bodies should influence the structure of production and procurement not through administration but through the system of economic levers.

I ought to mention that this matter has been debated in the Politburo—very fruitfully and on more than one occasion—and we are in favor of state orders for the procurement of the relevant products being placed on a contractual basis, with due consideration for the fact that kolkhozes have to interact even more closely with consumers' cooperative societies and the market, and expand their direct links with industrial enterprises. This will be in accordance with their democratic nature, the cooperative principles and economic management methods. (new paragraph) Comrades, the Law... (rewording, supplying additional paragraph)

Column one, paragraph three, line five reads: ...legal documents defending kolkhozes' independence that administration by excessive regulation became possible. (rewording)

Nikonov, Murakhovskiy Visit Farming Exhibition

LD222351 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist parties of union republics and of kray and oblast committees today visited the USSR Main Committee for Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy [VDNKh] and familiarized themselves with an exhbition of the work of cooperative members in Moscow Oblast. At the USSR VDNKh, they also acquainted themselves with the achievements accrued in the pedigree stockbreeding sphere and in animal husbandry and poultry farming, as well as with a mobile post for the slaughter of sheep under field conditions. Taking part in the inspection were Comrades Nikonov and Murakhovskiy.

Scientific

Sagdeyev on Possible Mars Project Cooperation

LD241732 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—The first step in Soviet-American cooperation in the areas of advanced science could be joint exploration of Mars with the use of outer space craft, believes Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Space Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

Speaking with newsmen, Academician Sagdeyev recalled that specialists of the two countries had an opportunity to work together. This happened during the joint Soyuz-Apollo mission and the Vega Project for which NASA provided the services of the network of radiotelescopes of long-range space communication.

"Mars is the next important stage in the study of outer space, and, it seems to me, that the USSR and the USA should meet that challenge jointly," the Soviet scientist noted. He said that it was advisable to bring to the surface of the planet an automatic mobile robot fitted out with research equipment. "One of the main technical problems of such a Mars buggy is its control," Sagdeyev said. "Even with the closest position of Mars towards the Earth it will take the radio signal several minutes to cover the distance between the planets. That is why the Mars vehicle should have some features of artificial intellect."

Roald Sagdeyev sees one of the ways for putting the Mars buggy on the planet in cooperation on the already planned projects: the American "Mars Observer" and the Soviet artificial Mars satellite. All-round cooperation in implementing the project to build a Mars buggy would enable the two countries to share their tasks so that each of them should centre efforts on what it could do most efficiently. Thus, the Americans could undertake designing an artificial intellect system that would enable the Mars vehicle to move about that planet's surface with confidence. And the USSR could create the buggy itself: A prototype of the Soviet Mars vehicle has already undergone trials.

"The Soviet and American scientists should share their knowledge and make it the property of public. One cannot resolve the urgent problems of our planet without drawing humanity's best minds for that," Academician Sagdeyev emphasized.

All-Union Scientific Conference Begins 31 Mar

LD311415 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Nearly fifteen hundred economists, senior officials of ministries, research institutions and research and production organisations, who came together in the Soviet capital today for the third all-union scientific and practical conference on problems pertaining to the management of science, are discussing problems pertaining to accelerating the introduction of new scientific developments in production, perfection of the forms of organising research.

"The conference has on its agenda one of the central problems of restructuring of our economy: research and technological activities under the new conditions of economic management," a TASS correspondent was told by Valeriy Mikhaylov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. This year more than twelve hundred research organisations of the machine-building, fuel and energy, chemical and woodworking complexes, transport and other branches of the economy have been placed on the basis of self-financing and cost-accounting."

Due to the introduction of the system of cost-accounting, the volume of research and experimental design work in many collectives has grown and the terms for their fulfilment have been reduced. Yet, many outstanding problems are also visible. Thus, for example, only ten per cent of the organisations placed on new terms of economic management had by the beginning of this year the necessary conditions for the estimation of the main indicators of their work. More than 70 per cent of the organisations were not informed what volume the state orders would occupy in their activities.

The participants in the conference will discuss problems pertaining to placing science on pay-it-your own basis, sum up the first results of the work done by research and design organisations under the new conditions of economic management and estimate the effectiveness of new organisational forms in science.

Instrument To Detect AIDS Developed

LD311612 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar (TASS)—Preparations have begun in Leningrad for serial production of the Komparator-03 apparatus which is designed to diagnose AIDS and a number of other diseases, IZVESTIYA reports today.

This instrument has been developed in the scientific and technical association of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It works on the basis of the operation of a photometer, mounted within an electric apparatus. A microsample of specially prepared blood is exposed to the rays of the sensitive instrument. If the blood contains the AIDS virus and its antibodies, its optical density changes. The light beam strikes the obstacle which is instantly signaled electronically and the result is given immediately after the material studied has been compared with standards. The doctor has only to analyze the information received and draw a conclusion.

The Komparator-03 can reveal AIDS, hepatitis, and a whole series of other diseases, not only in man, but in animals and plants as well. It can be used, for instance, to reveal viral diseases in potatoes.

Safety of Lithuanian Nuclear Power Station Noted

LD010905 Moscow TASS in English 0410 GMT 1 Apr 88

[From the "News From Soviet Baltics"]

[Text] Vilnius April 1 TASS —ELTA news agency correspondent Virgaudas Gudas writes:

Two big atomic reactors of 1.5 million kilowatts each, put into operation at the Ignalina atomic power station in the north-east of Lithuania, have made this Baltic republic with a population of 3.7 million one of Europe's leaders in the per capita generation of electricity. And although everybody realises the huge role of this plant in the republic's economy there is still some lingering anxiety about the safety of reactors after the Chernobyl accident.

What is the level of safety at the Ignalina station, what is being done to increase it and how does the station affect ecology? A group of representatives of the Lithuanian public went with these questions to the station late in March. The prominent scientists and cultural figures were given detailed information on the measures taken to ensure the safety of the reactors and to raise it further. They learned in particular that international ecological standards have not even once been exceeded since the first day of the station's operation. There are now 11 monitoring centres in the zone around the atomic power station studying the ecological situation. A constant monitoring of the atmosphere and reservoirs is also conducted by the Institute of Physics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and the Hydrometeorological Service.

"We took additional safety measures after Chernobyl", journalists were told by the station's chief engineer Gennadiy Negrivoda. "The station was the first in the country to try out an improved and prompt accident-preventing system. Special devices immerse a set of neutron-absorbing cores into the reactor's active zone within 2.1 seconds, or almost ten times faster than before. These absorbers are capable of reliably preventing a sharp increase of the reactor's power, as happened in Chernobyl in April 1986. This method of protection is now being introduced at all atomic power plants in the USSR".

The guests were also told that the station was provided with most up-to-date diagnosis equipment which is capable not only of instantly detecting the slightest defects in pipelines and equipment but also of forecasting such happenings. Yet another safety measure has been taken—an automatic system to monitor control of the station's reactors and turbines. The slightest mistake by an operator will instantly active the automatic system.

The chief engineer also said the station supplied electricity into the power grid of the Soviet Baltic republics which, in turn, is part of the single power grid of the USSR. This means that in case of need additional electricity can be supplied to all the three Baltic republics at any time. As to the share of "atomic" electricity in the USSR, it amounts to 11.2 per cent of the total, or much less, say, than in Japan (31.7 per cent) or France (70 per cent).

Cost-Accounting Instituted in Science Sector

LD011505 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 1 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—The new procedure for research and development financing in the Soviet Union lays the groundwork for research and educational institutions and scientific organisations of ministries to adopt new methods of financing and economic activity. The procedure has been approved by the State Committee for Science and Technology, the State Committee for Planning and the USSR Ministry of Finance.

Specialists believe that this measure is indispensable because the present methods of planning and financing in research establishments are but tenuously linked with the end results of their activities and so are not conducive to an effective utilisation of the means appropriated. Besides, so far little attention has been given to the material incentives to stimulate a better quality of research, the economic well-being and the social development of whole groups of scientists.

The new document provides for a passage over from the financing of research establishments' programmes to a purpose-oriented funding of specific R & D efforts. Feasibility of budget appropriations being considered will be tied to a specific goal. In the process, any saving achieved in the wages and salaries fund will be turned over into the material incentives fund by the end of the year. And the means saved through reduced inputs in terms of materials, electric power and other cost items, will go into the fund for scientific, technological and social development. This latter fund will, in turn, be used for broadening the material and technical base of the research establishment, for research in areas of promise, for housing and for the stay in sanatoriums and rest-homes.

Remuneration of work done by researcher teams under contracts with enterprises will be paid in accordance with contractual prices. Simultaneously, fixed shares of profits are being established, which the research establishments shall remit to the national budget, while the share of profit they will keep will also go into the fund of scientific, technological and social development and that of material incentives.

As to the fundamental research activities, the state will continue to allocate the necessary means for them as it did hitherto.